

AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
PEOPLE of the NETHERLANDS,
ON THE
Present ALARMING and most DANGEROUS Situation
OF
The REPUBLICK of HOLLAND:
SHOWING
THE TRUE MOTIVES OF THE MOST UNPARDONABLE DELAYS OF THE
EXECUTIVE POWER IN PUTTING THE
REPUBLICK INTO A PROPER STATE OF DEFENCE,
AND THE
ADVANTAGES OF AN ALLIANCE
WITH
HOLLAND, FRANCE AND AMERICA.

BY A DUTCHMAN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH ORIGINAL.

L O N D O N:

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Editor of this Translation flatters himself, that it will fix the attention, and be honoured with the approbation of the English Reader. A great reward was offered in Holland for the discovery of the Author of the Dutch original; a fact which proves that it must be an interesting object to the political world. Its contents may, indeed, be honestly recommended to the perusal of our countrymen, on account, both of its narrative, and argument. The pamphlet seems to have been written by a very zealous, but by a very ingenuous Republican:—it seems to have been written for use, not for show. Here is nothing seducing, declamatory, florid,—the whole tenor of the treatise is, at once, simple, and important. Its historical and expostulatory parts

parts are equally interesting; they may be salutary warnings to this island, if they come not too late to be seasonable. They shew by what means, how by a gradual, but certain and fatal progress, the most equitable, the best political institutions, are sapped and destroyed; from that inordinate love of power which riots in the human heart, and which, therefore, rages with a particular violence in the breast of the Sovereign of a state. In reading this pamphlet, we are reminded, at this melancholy and humiliating period, of a very different crisis;—of that memorable event, the Revolution. We are reminded of the propriety of the two titles which Voltaire applied to our William the Third: he was called by that Historian, the *King of Holland*, and the *Stadtholder of England*. Would to God that the political spirit of the latter title were as applicable now in England, as that of the former is yet in Holland! Kings would form similar wishes; if Kings could distinguish true, from false, glory.

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A D D R E S S
T O T H E
PEOPLE of the NETHERLANDS.

WORTHY FELLOW CITIZENS!

IF you knew me, the Author of this Address, my political principles and particular circumstances, I should think it unnecessary to assure you, that I neither seek fortune nor titles; that I never held any place, nor desire to hold one; that I am, therefore, perfectly independent, and consequently intitled to your credit, when I publicly confess to you, as I do before Almighty God, that I have no motive for addressing you, but an utter abhorrence of the scandalous manner in which you are betrayed, and sold;

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and an anxious desire of making another attempt, before it is too late, to save *you*, and to save us all, from total ruin.

It is not, my worthy fellow citizens, it is not only of late, that you have been deceived and misled; no! you have been almost these two centuries, objects of the ambition of different persons, who under the pretext of watching over your liberties and your interests, as sure as there is a God, to whom I must one day give an account of this address, have had nothing in view, but to rivet on the necks of a free people a hereditary yoke.

Permit me therefore to represent to you, from the History of our Country, not in the common manner of hired scribblers, or ignorant and prejudiced persons, but as things have really happened; and to acquaint you in a few words, and in a simple and intelligible style, with our true situation; and to inform you what machinations have long been operating against our States; and, in general, against the Inhabitants of the Netherlands.

Ever

Ever since the earliest times, these Provinces have been inhabited by several brave and free nations. The Batavians are the eldest among them, of whom history furnishes us with accounts. They were sensible of the value of liberty, and knew the right and only means to preserve it. They never suffered themselves to be governed by persons who arbitrarily chose themselves, or were chosen by another; who consequently never depended on them, who gave them no account of their transactions, and over whom, in case of misdemeanor, they had no power. —No! they kept the helm of government in their own hands. The great interests of the community they decided, themselves, in their general assemblies, where the whole nation appeared in arms, and where the voice of every Batavian was of equal weight. When they went to war, of which they were great masters, they chose their commander from among the bravest, the wisest and the most virtuous of their countrymen. They never called in any foreign chieftains for their leaders, who serve but for interest; and are generally too powerful to be brought to proper punishment, when they have been

guilty of misdemeanors. If a chief, thus chosen, did his duty, they continued him in his office; if he was not qualified for it, they dismissed him; and if he had betrayed his country, or endeavoured either by domestick or foreign assistance, to aggrandize his family and to make himself sovereign;—I need not tell you what would have been the resentment of the Batavians on such an occasion,

Besides the Batavians, these provinces were also inhabited by other brave nations, among whom the Friezlanders were in great reputation.

About the year 277, after the birth of our Saviour, the Franks (a nation originating from Germany, and who afterwards settled in that great and fruitful country, which to this day is called France) conquered these and the neighbouring provinces, and appointed governors over them, who were then called Dukes or Earls,

The places of those Dukes and Earls, which they held at first during their lives, or perhaps only for a certain number
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of years, became in time, hereditary (as it generally happens when places of great importance remain long in the same family, and are suffered to descend from the father to the son) and instead of continuing simple governors, these Dukes and Earls became absolute masters of these provinces, and intermarried so long that all these provinces, excepting only those of Guelderland and Utrecht, fell, by inheritance, under the power of the emperor Charles V. who then took the above two, by force, and thus was master of all the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, and which he, either from being tired of reigning, or for other reasons, ceded in the year 1555, to his son Philip, afterwards King of Spain.

But, do not imagine, my dear countrymen, that these Dukes and Earls, though their power had greatly increased from time to time, as is generally the case, do not imagine, that they could govern these provinces according to their own pleasure. No! They had less power than our Princes of Orange have at present, though the latter have only the title of Stadtholder. They had indeed

the ambition, common to all princes, to augment their power, to play the master, in short, to make themselves absolute sovereigns; but our brave ancestors checked and subdued their exorbitant desire of power.

The assemblies of the people, or of the whole nation, were indeed at that time no longer holden in the same manner in which they had been held formerly among the Batavians, and as is still customary in several places in Swisserland, where the landholders, burghers, and peasants, in short, high and low, rich and poor, who constitute the nation, meet, in order to govern by themselves. This was not necessary; not only because it is impossible to digest the affairs of a country in such great assemblies of all classes of men, where generally great confusion prevails, with the necessary moderation and wisdom; but also because the people could not neglect their own affairs, to meet at the stated and necessary times. Our nation had, however, every where their trusty friends and representatives, who carefully watched over the welfare of their country, who fixed the sums to be levied upon the nation for the service of
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the Prince, and who took care that those sums were properly applied. In most of our cities, companies were established of armed and associated tradesmen, of sworn commoners or other honest men, who kept a watchful eye on the transactions of government; and who, in several places, chose their own magistrates. In other places, even the boors had a share in the government, as is still customary in Drenthe, Groeningen, and Friesland, which undoubted was equitable; as they are inhabitants of the country, and are obliged to furnish *their* proportion for the support of government. The landholders, at that time, were constantly armed, and were in general a more warlike people than we are at present. The Princes of this country at first had no soldiers in their service; afterwards but very few; and consequently could not subdue the country, as is practicable to our Princes of Orange when ever they please, and as they have done more than once. They likewise had not so many honorary, lucrative and for the most part, unnecessary places at their disposal as our Princes have, and therefore they could not so easily bring into their dependence a
great

great number of hungry, proud and poor noblemen, or other worthless persons, who in all assemblies of the States, where the most momentous affairs of the nation are digested and determined, are always ready to vote agreeably to the inclination of their patrons, though it should be directly contrary to the welfare and prosperity of the country.

Our forefathers were very careful on all occasions, to stipulate several prerogatives for themselves, the exercise of which they always had secured to them by an oath from the Prince, on his accession to power. They always took care, for instance, that no foreigner should be obtruded on any of the offices of government. They were constantly on their guard, that the Prince should lay no taxes or burthens upon them, without the free consent of themselves, or their representatives. They never suffered the Prince, at his own pleasure, to make peace or war, or to place garrisons wherever he pleased, for the augmentation of his power. They had already acquired so much political knowledge, and were so sensible what baleful influence intermarriages with foreign families might

might produce, that they stipulated in the year 1477, with Maria, Countess of Burgundy, that she should not marry without the consent of the States of the country, who depended, at that time, intirely on the people, that is, on the landholders; but not in the least on the Prince, as our present rulers are subject to our Stadtholders, the Princes of Orange.

But to return to my former subject—The above-mentioned Philip, King of Spain and master of our country, was an ambitious Prince, who like his father and his other ancestors, had deprived his subjects in Spain and his other dominions, of their liberties and privileges, and now intended to introduce slavery into our Netherlands. He could not brook the idea, that he, who ruled arbitrarily in all his other hereditary countries, should not be the despot of Holland.

The first measure he adopted, was to raise a powerful army, a plan which his father had already begun. He likewise sent foreign troops among us, as he could better depend upon them than upon the national forces,

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which

which however had already become hostile to our liberties.

He intrusted the management of affairs to foreigners, who, as the worthy magistrates of Amsterdam very justly observe, *cannot be considered as persons that have a sufficient knowledge of our form of government, or ANY INCLINATION at heart to assert the interest of our country.* And in order to extend his power, and to strip the people of one of their most essential privileges, viz. *that none should be judged but by his own lawful judge,* he issued the most abominable edicts against those who embraced the reformed religion, and established the Court of *Inquisition*; which, without any regard to persons, rights, or privileges, was to enforce his laws by tormenting, hanging, or burning those conscientious and brave men, who were determined only to relinquish with life, their civil and spiritual freedom.

You must know, my worthy countrymen, that the Roman Catholick religion was at that time the only one that prevailed in our country, and almost all over Europe. In
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Switzerland, Germany, France, and other parts, a great number of people had lately abandoned that religion ; and this began likewise to be the case in these provinces, in the reign of the Emperor, Charles V. King Philip, that sly fox, thought he now had a favourable opportunity to deprive the whole nation at once, under the pretext of a religious zeal for the old faith, of their most essential rights and privileges. But the people soon perceived his designs, and the Roman Catholicks as well as the Protestants, who at that time were but a small and weak society, but who were soon after joined by great numbers, united like brethren, to repel the common danger. They formed a league among themselves, and engaged to protect each other in their rights and privileges, and in the free exercise of their several religious persuasions ; and forthwith took arms against the common and formidable enemy of our nation.

Among several noblemen, there were at that time, three very powerful Hollanders, viz. William I. Prince of Orange, a German, but who had very considerable estates

in this country, and consequently was materially concerned in its welfare and prosperity; and the Earls of Egmond and Hoorn, both of the Netherlands. These three Noblemen were the most hated by the King, on account of their attempts to remove from the management of affairs, the several foreigners, and especially the Cardinal Granvella, who had the King's ear, and an unbounded influence on his mind.

As the worthy magistrates of Amsterdam, in the present times of public calamity, have sincerely and ingenuously warned our Prince of Orange, that our country was daily verging towards its ruin, and that he himself would one day become the object of universal hatred, if he continued to listen to the suggestions and councils of the Duke, a foreigner, universally hated by all ranks of the people, and who is generally considered as the cause of all our present misfortunes;—in the same manner did these three noblemen advise King Philip, in a letter:—"That
 " they had long been silent, for fear of dis-
 " pleasing his Majesty, but that they could
 " no longer conceal their apprehensions,
 " without

“ without exposing these provinces to un-
 “ avoidable ruin. That a general discon-
 “ tent prevailed among the landholders, be-
 “ cause the whole weight of government
 “ was in the hands of the Cardinal Gran-
 “ vella ; which discontent, his Majesty
 “ would not be able to remove, as long as
 “ the Cardinal remained in office. That
 “ the whole nation was dissatisfied with
 “ that statesman, who alone must be con-
 “ sidered as the cause why the King’s affairs
 “ were not in greater prosperity : That they
 “ therefore took the liberty to submit it to
 “ his Majesty, whether it would not be
 “ more eligible to satisfy the wishes of his
 “ principal subjects, and of the whole na-
 “ tion, than only to gratify Granvella.”—

The King replied, “ That he was fully per-
 “ suaded of their zeal for his service ; that
 “ he intended soon to be in Holland him-
 “ self, to examine the state of affairs ; but
 “ that in the mean time he should be glad
 “ if they would come to Spain, to inform
 “ him more particularly of the obliquities
 “ of his minister, as their letter contained
 “ only general accusations ; and that it was
 “ not his custom to dismiss any of his ser-
 “ vants

“ wants without a thorough knowledge of
 “ the complaints made against them.”

These noblemen, says the historian *Wagenaar*, from whom I have literally transcribed the above paragraph, were much displeased on the receipt of this letter. They thought it strange that they should be desired to take a journey to Spain merely to accuse one man, and therefore answered the King's letter in the following manner :—“ That they highly
 “ approved his Majesty's intention not to
 “ dismiss any of his servants without proper
 “ cause, and begged leave to observe, that
 “ what they had mentioned concerning the
 “ Cardinal, could not be construed into an
 “ accusation, but rather their honest advice ;
 “ by following which he might be freed
 “ from an embarrassment, in which he could
 “ not much longer be involved, without
 “ great subsequent disturbances and confusion :—That they had not entered into
 “ any particulars concerning him, as the
 “ general discontent in the nation shewed
 “ sufficiently of how little service his presence, his authority and government could
 “ be to this country. That they would not
 “ stand

“ stand forth as his accusers, or formally
 “ impeach him; but as loyal vassals (or
 “ subjects) they had only acquainted the
 “ King with a very important fact, and had
 “ hoped that their characters would have
 “ been a sufficient pledge for the truth of
 “ what they asserted.”

The King, far from shewing these noble-
 men any return of gratitude for this mark of
 affection and zeal for his true interest, fell
 into a rage. He would not part with his
 adviser, his Achitophel, who had so power-
 fully assisted him in the oppression of these
 free countries. He endeavoured to support
 him in spite of the nation, just as now our
 Prince supports the Duke. But the party
 against *Granvella* grew too strong. Many
 other noblemen joined the above-mentioned
 Lords—They formed an association. The
 States General, not actuated, as at present,
 by the soul of an English-hearted Stadthold-
 er, but animated by the spirit of liberty,
 supported these patriotick exertions. They
 refused to meet and to hear any proposals,
 where this detested foreigner was to be pre-
 sent. At last matters came to such a crisis,
 that

that the Cardinal found his life in danger, and the King was under a necessity of ordering him out of the country. He did so, yet meditated vengeance. Four years after he sent hither the Duke of *Alba*, with a Spanish army. *Egmond* and *Hoorn* suffered themselves to be enticed to *Brussels*, where *Alba* had them beheaded, together with many other patriots. *William* the First was wiser. He kept out of his reach, and seeing that there was no pardon or reconciliation for him, he absolutely espoused the cause of our oppressed nation, and did it very important services. He was a prudent, gallant, amiable, noble-hearted, and generous-minded Prince. He abhorred all religious persecution, and wished that the promises made to the Roman Catholics, had been regarded.

Do not however think, my countrymen, that this Prince did all these signal services to our country, in which he was a foreigner, merely from generosity, or for nothing. In 1584, he had so far raised his influence, that he was declared Count of Holland; which dignity might have been hereditary for him and his family, had not he been treacherously murdered

murdered by a Spaniard, who was bribed to commit the assassination. Very little, that is, nothing but the taking of the oaths of allegiance, was now wanting, which was chiefly opposed by the signal love of liberty, ever prevailing at Amsterdam; the governors of that city insisting, that they could not take so important a step, before the burghers or companies had been consulted upon the subject. Prince William was much offended with their steddiness; for he would not have the burghers or companies any more consulted on publick affairs; the States of Holland having at *his* instigation resolved in 1581, that, for the future, the commons should not be consulted without their permission, which, it appeared afterwards, and still appears, they never had an intention to grant.

Thus the great began already to abridge the liberty of our forefathers, at the very time when they risked their lives and fortunes in its defence against the King of Spain! Thus the States of Holland acted, though they were otherwise good regents; and such was the conduct of a Prince, who

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really meant well to our country. We may learn from these examples, that those nations who are zealous to preserve their liberties, should always be vigilant in their defence, and never place an unbounded confidence in any mortal. On the contrary, they should daily watch every one that is entrusted with any power, but chiefly the Princes and men of illustrious families ; for the experience of every age, from the beginning of the world to the present day has proved, that even the very best men, without exception, are commonly inclined selfishly and illegally to increase the power with which they are entrusted. To reign is highly grateful to the human heart. Be watchful then my countrymen ! and ye shall yet be free !

At the decease of William I. Prince Maurice, his son, was very young, and then at the academy at Leyden.—As he was quite unexperienced, it was very fortunate that providence had given us Father Barnevelt. This great and good man, whose talents, virtues, and tragical death will be the wonder of every age, was the only hope and prop of our infant commonwealth. The English,
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that perfidious nation, had even *then* artfully planned our subjection to their usurpation of our liberties. In prosecuting that plan, they sent us some auxiliary troops, under the Earl of Leicester, a hypocritical villain; who, with a pretended zeal for the Protestant religion, seduced the minds of the clergy and laity of this country. He wished to be at the head of our Government; and that height he obtained with the title of Governor General of the United Netherlands. Yet even whilst *he* was amongst us, Father Barnevelt, whose wise and honest advice was properly respected by his countrymen, had already give to young Maurice a place of great consequence. He prevailed with the States, to elect him Stadtholder and Captain General of Holland and Zealand. Thus the art of Leicester was defeated, and he was so enraged at his disappointment, that from that time he formed his scheme, for sending Barnevelt and Maurice prisoners to England. Maurice performed great exploits, under the direction of this worthy man, who proved a second father to him; and in that paternal light he was always respected by Maurice's mother, the widow of William I. He became

the greatest General of the age, and did us very great military services. It would have been fortunate for us, had he been as patriotic as he was ambitious ; but he resembled all those, who have any power, especially military command ; and sensible of his consanguinity with the Counts of Holland ; a consanguinity that seemed to call him to Empire, he selfishly, and rapaciously aspired to Sovereignty. The sagacious *Barnevelt*, to his extreme mortification, saw his ambition. At length the opportunity which seemed, and proved, favourable to Maurice, arrived. The disputes about the opinions of *Gomarus* and *Arminius* had divided our civil and ecclesiastical State. *Barnevelt* who was an enemy to dissension, had recommended to the States of Holland such measures as might prevent them. *Maurice*, on the contrary, whose views could only be accomplished by sedition, and tumult, was a promoter of those disputes. He carried his point. He attacked the reputation of *Barnevelt*, that venerable patriot, by his venal emissaries, and by infamous libels ; and after having loaded him with the public hatred, he threw him into prison. The States of Holland,

took

took their old servant under their protection ; but what did the Prince ? He marched with his guards and other soldiers through the different towns of Holland and of the other Provinces, and changed the form of their government by violence. By the natural consequences of such conduct, the former and best Magistrates were exiled, and their places were filled with the tools of *Maurice* ; the States of Holland became his slaves, and acted as he was pleased to dictate. He expelled from the church the remonstrants, whose tenets, if, indeed he had any religion himself, he had approved ; and, as they were the most zealous advocates for liberty, he was eager to dispossess them of all share in the government, and he commissioned twenty-four Judges who, forgetful of their God, were infamous enough, in obedience to *Maurice*, and to promote their private fortunes, to condemn this old patriot, to lose his grey head at the age of seventy years, and to imprison others for life, among whom was the famous *De Groot*.

My dear countrymen ! whatever be your particular religious persuasions, never believe
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that *Barneveldt* was a traitor, or that he deserved *any* punishment ! He, alone was, in the hands of God, the instrument of good to this afflicted country, after the decease of *William* I. during the dangerous machinations of *Leicester*. We had then to fight the Spaniards both at home and abroad ; we had to encounter the more powerful English faction, which had, at that crisis as at the present, spread its partizans every where, in every Province, in every assembly. *Barneveldt* alone blunted the point of its shafts. To *him* alone *Maurice* was indebted for his elevation ; consequently, to *him* alone, the whole House of Orange are indebted for their grandeur. Those, who represent this matter otherwise to you, are either hirelings of the House of Orange, which always has aimed at Sovereignty, and has always hated and persecuted those, who scorn to lend to it a subservient hand, or they are foolish and presumptuous men who meddle with affairs, which they do not understand. Give proper credit to those who speak on matters with which they are acquainted. Give credit to the clergy, when they teach you religious duties ; for they are payed for studying them ;

them; but they are strangers to politics. Therefore believe the politician, or rather the obscure honest fellow-citizen, who in the quiet recesses of his mind has traced to the source, the events of his country, without any prejudice; without any other intention than that of improving his knowledge and of being useful to you. Believe *him*, when he gives you a picture of former times.

Maurice did not long survive these iniquities; nor did they fully answer his ends. Harassed with anxiety, terrors and despair, he died in 1625. He was one of the worst of men; an enemy to peace, a hypocrite, an unbounded sensualist; who used industriously to seduce and debauch women of every rank and situation, and, consequently, left several bastards. According to the assurances of his flatterers, this pious Prince went straight to heaven.

His brother *Frederick Henry* succeeded him, not only in his rank, but likewise in his disposition. He had art enough to extort from his nephew *William Frederick* the dignities
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of Stadtholder of *Groningen and of Drenft*, whom he so insulted, and harrassed, that at length the persecuted young man ceded to him his right to the hereditary Stadtholdership of Frizeland. He afterwards, in 1640, effected a marriage between his son *William II.* and *Mary*, daughter of *Charles I.* King of England; merely that he might aggrandize his family and increase his power. The Queen mother of France had first obliquely proposed this marriage in England; where, however, it was thought to be beneath the dignity of a King's daughter, who might inherit three kingdoms, to marry a petty Prince, who was only the servant of a Commonwealth, the members of which were yet stiled by many, a set of rebels. But King *Charles* was assured "*that the title was matter of indifference, and that the Stadtholder was in reality the Master and Sovereign of the State.*"

Mark here well, my countrymen, that though the Stadtholders, as appears from their instructions, had then far less influence and power, than our Princes have enjoyed since

since the year 1672, yet they were already considered abroad as Sovereigns.

Thus King *Charles* consented to give his daughter to *William II.* and this inauspicious marriage was the next cause of all the miseries that since have befallen our country. But more of this hereafter.

William II. succeeded his father in 1647, at a time, when peace with the King of Spain, our old Sovereign, was almost concluded.

The sequel of my narrative will show you, what this Stadtholder, though then no more than twenty-three years old, dared to attempt.

Prince *Maurice* had in 1591, by taking the city of Nimeguen delivered it from the Spanish yoke. The companies of that town had from time immemorial, when even they were subject to the Dukes of *Güeldres* and to the Kings of Spain, elected their magistrates. But *Maurice*, after the taking of the town, deprived the companies and

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burgesses

burgesſes of their old privileges. He reſerved to himſelf the annual nomination of the magiſtrates as long as the war ſhould laſt; while he had not the leaſt intention, ever to part again with a power which he had once uſurped. Now when the war againſt Spain was finally concluded in 1648, the government and burghers of Nimeguen ſent a ſolemn deputation to Prince *William*, thanking him for the trouble he had till then taken in making the annual change of their government, and declaring at the ſame time, that for the future they would, according to their old privileges, provide for it themſelves. But what did our young Prince? He lodged a ſtronger gariſon in the town; and accompanied with more troops, he came himſelf into the city, where in January 1649, in ſpite of the indignant, but over-awed Burghers, he nominated a Government, which was entirely compoſed of his dependents and vaſſals.

In this and ſimilar manners have our Princes of Orange, like all other Kings and Sovereigns of Europe, arrived, by degrees, at their great power; and I ſhould be under the

the necessity of writing a book, if I should describe to you all the violences of the hereditary oppressors of Batavian liberty. Observe, however again, the danger of military garrisons. Would to God that the troops, which are forced on the Province of Holland, were at the distance of a thousand leagues from us! They certainly are settled here for no good purposes. Our *William V.* will subject, by *them*, the discontented landholders, burghers and boors; by *them* he will subdue your country, and one day plant a garrison in *Amsterdam*. Then he and his partizans will have accomplished all their aims; they will have no more to dread from the efforts of their patriotic city. Let the inhabitants of Rotterdam likewise take a salutary warning, and keep all garrisons out of their walls.

The Stadtholders are always industrious to have a great number of troops under their command, and have always been the ardent promoters of continental war. Hence arose *Maurice's* inveterate enmity against Father *Barneveldt*, who had procured a truce with the Spaniards for twelve years. Hence

Frederick Henry endeavoured to prevent the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia, till he was bought over by the Spaniards. In assenting to that peace, he was not actuated by affection for his country, or by any respect for the negociation which had taken place with France for the prosecution of the war against Spain, which then offered us ample satisfaction. For the same reason *William II.* endeavoured also perfidiously to break the peace to which I have now alluded. The States of Holland, headed again by *Amsterdam*, were the only true Republicans that had spirit enough to oppose this enterprizing and audacious Stadtholder. They had resolved to dismiss some troops, which, as peace was restored, could be of no service to the country. They would only bring a heavy load of expence on the people; or they might enable the Prince to oppress the whole country; but particularly those who would not be flexible to his measures. The States of Holland having learnt from the fate of Nimeguen, and from the violences of Maurice, how boldly the Princes of Orange dared to employ the troops for the increase of their power, proposed that a greater number

ber should be dismissed, and especially *foreigners*. The Prince on the contrary insisted, that but a small number should be dismissed, and chiefly of the national troops, because he could better depend on *foreigners*. The contest went to such lengths, that the Prince, on July 30, 1650, by his own authority, and in the most clandestine manner, sent a body of our own troops to surprize the city of *Amsterdam*, that he might model its government to his mind, and keep a garrison there as well as in most other places; satisfied that if he once subjugated this powerful city, all his other countrymen would necessarily yield to his yoke. But Providence protected the city, and the mischievous scheme miscarried. It is to be lamented, that the inhabitants of *Amsterdam* did not bury his arms in the sea. Their fate might have been a useful lesson to our succeeding, and too aspiring William. But *Amsterdam* has always been too indulgent to her Princes.

About the time when *Amsterdam* was invested by the forces of the State, Prince *William II.* had likewise, by his own authority,

rity, seized and sent to *Louvensteyn* several Lords, who were then in the name of their cities assisting in the assembly of the States of Holland; for no other reason, but because they had dared to oppose his measures with spirit and resolution; and the compliant temper and selfishness of our great men had then sunk to so low a prostitution, that most of the provinces sent him their thanks for this violent infringement of his duty and his oath, as if he had atchieved a specimen of Roman heroism.

Beware of the great amongst us, my dear countrymen! The Prince has most of them at his devotion; by their rank, or office; or even merely by their living at Court. They are totally corrupted by their residence there. Their oath and duty, and the welfare of their country they totally disregard. For what losses they, like others, may suffer, by the decay of trade and of the general welfare of their country, they think full compensation may be made them by the favour of the Prince, who has it always in his power to enrich them; an object, to which, it must be owned, he is sufficiently attentive. Be-

sides,

sides, most of our grandees and other men of consequence, have lent great sums of money to England. It is for that reason that they will not fall upon that country, and that they side with the Prince. They apprehend that England might be brought too low, and that she might stop payment. Many of them are so much attached to England, and so little to their own country, that even now they support, with their fortunes, that kingdom, our declared enemy. This is treason, and should be investigated and punished. 'Tis certainly for some sinister purpose, that the English packet-boats are still suffered to pass over to *Helvoetsluys*, as if there was no war; and so it is indeed, in one view; for the Prince wages no war with the English, They are his most faithful friends. Let us, however, gratefully admire the generous spirit of the principal people of *Amsterdam*, *Haerlem*, *Dordrecht*, and of those monied men who act upon *their* principles; who, though they have great property in England, have not forsaken this country, but are honestly disposed; and have insisted, in the higher assemblies, on repelling force by force, on revenging the wrongs and evils which they have

have done us, and on protecting with the forces of the State, let what will be the consequence, all those branches of commerce, which are free by treaty, without suffering the English to be our perpetual dictators.

William II. did not long survive his disgrace. It pleased Providence to deliver us from that enterprizing oppressor. The small-pox carried him off on Nov. 6, 1650, at the age of twenty-four years. He left his Princess with child, and she gave us another *William*, whose name and memory must ever be recollected with the severest regret, by those who are thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of our country.

The alliance of *William II.* with an English Princess, was all along of the most unfortunate consequences to this country. *Charles I.* determined to be as absolute in his kingdom as other Kings of Europe were, had formed a plan for depriving the English of their liberties, and of bringing them under an arbitrary government. But his plan was fatal to himself. The nation took up arms, and was successful; that the King was conquered

conquered and taken prisoner. But when the English were on the point of enjoying the rewards of their conflict for liberty, they were supplanted and enslaved by *Cromwell*, who had the command of the army. Beware, therefore, my worthy countrymen! of your military leaders; for it is too well known, that they have almost every one and every where, endeavoured to be the tyrants of their fellow-citizens. Liberty fled from Europe, as soon as its sovereigns were allowed to maintain standing armies; for formerly, before they had regular soldiers, the landholders, burghers, and boors, went to the wars; but the sovereigns well knowing, that such armed men would not assist them to enslave their own country, represented by venal magistrates to the people, that it would be better for them to contribute some money than to go to the wars themselves; a destination which took them from their business, and put their lives in danger; and that this money should be employed for hiring soldiers in their place. The unthinking people were extremely pleased with this expedient; they did not even suspect what must be its natural consequence. The Princes, as soon as they had a standing army

on foot, entirely depending on them, and absolutely independent of the nation, had it from that very moment in their power to do what they pleased. No town, no country, could any longer defend their liberties against them; and history informs us, that all the nations around us, now brought under arbitrary monarchical government, have still a very painful remembrance of the fatal revolution which deprived them of freedom; that not long ago, even the Spaniards, the French, and all Germany were free: that they were enslaved by armies, and that they never had it in their power to recover their liberties and privileges, however distinctly and explicitly written, and sealed in old charters and parchments. Let the inhabitants of Nimeguen and others be examples to you, and make you vigilant, and constantly attentive to your noblest birth-right.

Whoever can dispose of the army, may do every thing he pleases; he may deliver to our enemies our most advantageous commerce, our men of war, our colonies; nay, he may make himself our lawless monarch. The defenceless mass of the nation, will not be able
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to check his ambition, but must patiently and tamely suffer its excesses. A nation, therefore, that would act wisely and with prudence, should always take care to keep to themselves the sovereignty of their country.

Armies must now be kept in our states, because all the other European powers keep armies; and the burghers and boors are not at leisure to be sent for from home, at *any* time, to enter on military duty. But, in order to defend their own towns and neighbourhood, and chiefly to prevent their oppression and subjugation by the commander of their own troops, by their own captain-general, our burghers and boors should every one of them have a good firelock, bayonet, and sword, and learn the manual exercise; they should form themselves into regiments and companies, and chuse officers to command them: they should sometimes, and chiefly on Sundays, when service is over, have a field day. This is the practice of the Swifs, this is the practice of the Americans.

What I recommend to you here, my countrymen, is not so strange as some of

you may imagine. 'Tis no novelty. Read only the eighth article of the Union of Utrecht; to the observation of which article, and of the whole Union, every Regent of our country, nay, even our Princes of Orange, have most solemnly sworn. As they even have been averse from training the nation to arms, they never have yet publicly cited that article. These are its words: "That in order to have at all times a public defence, the inhabitants of every one of these United Provinces, cities, and places in the country, shall be reviewed and registered, at farthest within a month after the date hereof, viz. all those that are between eighteen and sixty years of age; that their dwellings and numbers being thus known, they may, at the next meeting of this Union, be further ordered and commanded, as shall be found most proper for the protection and security of these United Provinces."

Dear countrymen! how fortunate would it have been for our country, had this salutary fundamental law been strictly observed, from the time of its establishment; that is, from
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the year 1579, to this very day. Many evils would not have happened, which in consequence of neglecting it we have not been able to prevent. And even were it now enforced, and would you, agreeably to our common duty, immediately put this law in practice, in these perilous times—O! soon would the traitors of our state be detected; the honest regents would soon be known, and the sinking commonwealth would yet be saved! We should have a squadron at sea; we should form an alliance with France and America, and we should have it in our power to be revenged of our enemies! Our all-enlivening commerce would soon revive, and the many thousand inhabitants who have lost their bread by this scandalously *neglected* war, and suffer the cruelest miseries, with their wives and children, would soon be put again into a way to earn their subsistence as they did a few months ago, when they were generously and profitably employed.

Ah! my countrymen! once more arm yourselves, and exert the interest of the republic; or, in other words, your own. The republic is your common property, not only
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the property of the Prince and of his grantees, who deem us all, the whole nation of the Netherlands, the descendents of the free-born Batavians, their hereditary vassals; their sheep and cattle, which they have power and right to fleece, or to put to death, as their avarice or resentment may impel them; and they treat us agreeably to this estimation of us. The inhabitants of a country, the landholders, the burghers and boors, the poor and the rich, the great and the *small*, all these together, are the true owners, lords, and masters of their country; these ought to appoint governors, and to establish laws. A nation is a great society, in political partnership; the rulers, the chiefs, the magistrates, the Prince, those, in short, who constitute the acting sovereignty, are but directors, commanders, and treasurers of that society; and, in their respective capacities, or collectively, they are of less consequence than its members, that is, than the collective body of the nation. For instance, the East India Company is a great association of merchants, united for the purpose of trading to India. They are too numerous, and they live at too great a distance from each other to meet constantly

constantly when it is necessary, and to direct, by personal attendance, the business of their company, which besides requires more skill and knowledge than all the members may individually possess; therefore they very wisely appoint directors, commanders, and treasurers, whom they pay for their trouble, and to whom they give no greater share of power than the business requires, for which they are engaged. The directors have naturally a greater authority in the conduct of the common affairs than any single member, or even any great number of members, which makes not a *majority*; but if all the members, or a decided majority, insist on having an alteration in the government or direction of the company's, that is, of their own affairs, then it is the duty of the directors, who are but servants of the members, to obey the commands of the latter, a majority of whom are the real owners, masters, and lords of the company.

It is just the same with the great society of a nation. The great one who rules over you, the Prince, or whoever has any power in the public affairs, exercises that power in
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your name, and their authority is derived from *you*. You are the members, the owners, and masters of the national society which bears the title of the *United Netherlands*. The great ones, on the contrary, are but directors and treasurers of this society. You pay them out of your own, i. e. out of the public purse. They are thus in your service; they are your servants; they are accountable to the majority of numbers, and in duty bound to obey your commands.

Besides, all men are born free: by nature, no one is under the command of another. Though some have brighter talents, more bodily strength, or a greater share of fortune than others, yet these accidents do not give them who are more intelligent, stronger and richer, any right to lord it over the simpler, weaker, and poorer people. God, our common Father, created man to be happy; and ordered every one, without exception, to promote the happiness of his fellow-creatures to the utmost of his power. To obtain this great object of the Creator, that is, to promote our common happiness, mankind have found it necessary to join in great societies,

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and to associate even by millions. Observe that in these societies, all the members are equal by nature; no member is subject to another. In these great societies, commonly called civil societies, the members join together to promote their mutual happiness, to defend their property and other rights, legally acquired. Hence you plainly see, that, when any members of the civil society are attacked and injured in their rights and possessions, as our merchants and seafaring people must have been by the English during many years, then the whole civil society is obliged to resist that violence, and to oppose it with all their united power, that full indemnification and security for the future may be obtained for their fellow-citizens. Hence it appears, that our admiral and his dependents have acted in the most perfidious manner towards many thousands of the most useful members of our national society, in refusing their convoy and protection to the vessels, which were laden with timber and naval stores, and were bound to France, agreeably to the treaties then subsisting.

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These

These are national rights—These are *your* rights! They who teach you other doctrines, were it even from the Pulpit, are your enemies; they are bribed by the Prince and his grandees, or they are totally unacquainted with sound policy. Do not believe them; but consider what I have now inculcated to you, in the most intelligible manner. You will, on reflection, be convinced of the important truths I have communicated to you; and you will be satisfied of the abominable fraud of those who would withdraw, or rather tear these truths from your attention. For further information on this interesting subject, read the publications of Baron *Van der Capellen Tottenpol*, and chiefly the two pamphlets of the Rev. Dr. *Price on Civil Liberty*, and the above-mentioned Baron's Treatise on the Liberty of the Boors in *Overijssel*, all printed at *Leyden* by *Herding*.

Cromwell, having put himself at the head of the English government, reigned over Britain in a more despotical manner than its former Kings; yet, to blind the people, he took not the royal title. Thus your ambitious countrymen impose upon you.

Thus

Thus our Prince has but the name of Stadtholder; for in reality he is our Sovereign Lord!

Cromwell had Charles I. beheaded by a sentence which not *he*, but the whole nation, or their delegates, ought to have pronounced; and England became a republick, under the government of a parliament. This parliament had longer than seven years kept an agent in our country, and could have wished to enter into an alliance with us rather than any other nation. All the Sovereigns of Europe courted the friendship of this new and powerful republick, from a fear of giving it offence; but we, who had most reason to fear its resentment, refused its tendered friendship, just as we now act to the Americans, and merely in consequence of the faction of Orange.

The English embassy, which during the Prince's life, could never gain an audience of the States General to the great dissatisfaction of the English government, was, when at last permitted to make a publick entrance, openly and publicly affronted by boys and

other rabble, that had been bribed for that purpose by a page of the Princess Dowager. *Cromwell* was sensible of the influence of the faction of Orange, and knew by experience that it would exert all its power for the restoration of the Royal family and for his destruction. He likewise wished for a foreign war, that he might employ the English, and keep them more effectually in subjection, by the army and navy which were under his absolute command; he resolved therefore on a war against us, which by its unfortunate events proved the cause of our ruin.

The faction of Orange exulted not a little on account of that war, just as they are again base enough to rejoice at our present difficulties. They had blown the flames of that war, to their utmost power, and endeavoured to make it unfortunate to us, that they might have the opportunity of blasting the characters of the best members of the State, and of laying to their charge all the miseries, which they themselves had drawn upon the country. The war lasted about two years, and was concluded by a hasty and shameful peace, because the party of the
States

States durst not pursue it any longer for fear of the court faction, who were incessantly watchful to find an opportunity, during the war, of changing the government.

At the decease of *William II.* our State assumed a form of government which it never had before. The States of the greater part of the province had taken the government on themselves; yet the pensionary *De Witt* may be justly said to have had the greatest influence in the direction of affairs at that period, that is, from the beginning of 1653 to the year 1672. By his great understanding and integrity, he had, like Father *Barneveldt*, acquired the confidence of the States of Holland, of whom he was the servant to such a degree, that they did almost nothing *without*, and almost every thing *with* his advice and direction. He had a brother, who was Burgomaster at *Dordrecht* and *Droffart* of *Putten*, and was equal to him in many excellent qualities.

Under the government of these good men commerce prospered more than ever, and the whole nation was in a flourishing state.

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The foreign powers durst not dishonour our colours; nor has our republick ever been more respected abroad, than it was at that golden period. To evince to you what I am asserting, the King of Denmark was on the point of being expelled from his kingdom by the King of Sweden. The commercial interests, to which these noble patriots pay-ed more attention than our Prince or any one of his ancestors (for they have always been jealous of the greatness, power, and independency, which trade gives chiefly to Amsterdam, and which hitherto has prevented them from curbing this great city or from putting garrisons into it) the commercial interest, I say, would not suffer this oppression of the King of Denmark. At a moment's warning there was a fleet and army ready, which sailed to the northward and re-established the King in his dominions. Whilst one of the two brothers exerted himself in the assembly of the State, the other went as commissary on board the fleet and assisted in fighting battles, which lasted for days together. These were manly atchievements! But how are our great ones now employed? In fervility to their idol the Prince,

Prince, that they may obtain places and commissions. Yet, though our country was then under a good administration; though every thing prospered and flourished in our hands, yet the community, or nation at large was dissatisfied, and for very good reasons; for instead of restoring the commoners to the possession of their invaded rights, at the decease of the last Stadtholder; instead of granting to them their proportionate share in the government and direction of publick affairs, or at least some controul over their rulers; instead of giving to them a right of chusing their governors either by themselves or by their delegates; instead of imposing on them no taxes or burthens without their own consent; instead of making them sensible, that they were become free by the decease of the last Stadtholder; instead of taking these proper measures, the nobility usurped to themselves almost the whole power. It was from among themselves that they chose the members of government, who, after that step, became almost hereditary; it was amongst themselves, that they divided the places; so that the commoners remained, as before, excluded from all direction

tion of the publick, that is, of their *own* affairs. Nay some, who had dared to insist on an alteration of these national grievances, were publicly punished as rebels : So easily and so extremely is power abused, even in the hands of the best men. Therefore, my dear Countrymen, take care, I intreat you, to whom you trust your power, and always keep ultimately the reins of government in your own hands.

The faction of Orange, ever eager to avail itself of popular commotions, cherished this dissatisfaction, and blackened the ruling men in the opinion of the publick. Those men who had made the land prosper, and whose only fault was that they had precluded the nation from having any influence in their own affairs. They acted in that respect just as the present Prince and his party, who have endeavoured to raise your suspicions against the worthy magistrates at Amsterdam, the pensionary Van Berkel, the two Messrs. Van der Capellan, Mr. de Neufville, and other honest men. They accused them of bad intentions and of treason. But for what purpose ? Not with an intention,
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my Friends; to procure you any redress, or to restore to you your liberty, or your right of electing your governors or some controul over them. No; for no other purpose than to raise that youth, William III. to the dignity of Stadtholder, and then to reign over you in *their* turn. To bring about this wicked object, the faction of the House of Orange brought upon us the second war with England, which lasted from 1663 to 1667. *Charles* II. uncle of the young Prince, was the man who was to procure to us a Stadtholder. He could not or would not even disguise his intentions. The court faction did again their best, in order to make this war miscarry and to raise tumults at home; but their intentions were again defeated, and the dissatisfaction of the nation continued as before. Yet some years after, their wicked designs were more fortunate.

The King of France, our old Ally, who had delivered us from the Spanish slavery; who during a course of eighty years had either privately supported us or openly fought in our behalf, and with whom a few years before we ourselves had divided

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by

by Treaty the Spanish Netherlands, in order to take them by force of arms, and on condition that neither of us should make peace without the other party; Lewis XIV. I say, was offended with us for having, against our solemn engagements, in 1684, perfidiously abandoned him, and concluded a separate peace with the King of Spain, our common enemy. This dissatisfaction, though well grounded, began to wear off, and might have probably died away, without further consequences, had we only been so cautious as not to give new offence to this powerful Monarch. About the year 1668, Lewis had entered the Spanish, now, *Austrian* Netherlands, to part of which he pretended to have old pretensions. Though it was not our business to interfere at this time, yet *De Witt* conceived it was for our interest to prevent the King of France from conquering the Netherlands, he being of opinion (which opinion, with great deference to his name, seems to have been over rated when it was termed a master-piece) that those countries should remain in the hands of Spain as a barrier against France. The scheme was specious, but upon nearer examination it was only

only *specious*. It was established upon two principles, the one of which was false and the other very improbable, or problematic, as experience has shewn us. The first was, that the neighboureood of France was dangerous to us; the other, that the possessors of the Spanish or Austrian Netherlands must always be at enmity, at least, not be in any friendly connection with France. This must be the case, should we ever reap any advantage from this partition-wall, which afterwards produced that expensive and useless barrier; yet we have seen very different events in our days. Our republick had nothing to apprehend from France, unless we gave it offence. France reaped great advantage from us, and was for that reason our natural ally, as she proves at present. Besides Lewis XIV. might have satisfied his ambitious and war-like disposition in many other parts of Europe, nor was he under any necessity of coming to us for that purpose. Had we remained quiet, Spain would not have been destitute of assistance; other countries might have exhausted themselves in her defence, and we might have spared our forces. To seize and keep foreign territories, we *now*

find, is not so easy a task ; and at all events, as France was then so very powerful, the rules of good policy ought to have taught us, that the worst thing for us is a continental war ; and that we should not have taken any step, which was to bring it on, unless we had been necessitated to adopt such conduct ; which certainly was not the case with us at that time. But the shrewd pensionary had very different sentiments. In 1668, he brought on that famous triple alliance between England, Sweden, and this republick, which obliged France to make peace.

It might have been foreseen, that this policy would highly exasperate Lewis XIV. one of the proudest of Monarchs, against a commonwealth, which he and his ancestors had raised to freedom and consequence ; but how could we foresee that Charles II. uncle of William III. could be wicked enough to join the same Lewis XIV. against whom he had concluded with us the triple alliance, and who could have no resentment against us, except for our refusing to make his nephew our Stadtholder or Sovereign ?
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Yet thus did he act; and this part of his conduct may be added to the numberless violences, perfidies, and oppressions, which the detestable English have been guilty of to us; one would imagine, to convince our peaceful nation, who are not dangerous to any but those that long, and often provoke them, that it would be folly in us to have any more connection with a country, whose national character for these two hundred years, has appeared to consist of perfidy, pride, cruelty, envy and jealousy. They are enemies to their country, who have slipt an excellent opportunity (which, perhaps will never return) of throwing off the British yoke, by which we and our fathers have been so long oppressed. But perhaps, the most desirable opportunity has not yet passed from us: the fifth of August, that glorious day, which hath crowned our sailors with immortal fame, and shaded our enemies and their party in this country with indelible infamy, has taught us what great exploits we may yet atchieve with a small ostensible force. Let not then, our heroes fight, and bleed in vain! Let not peace be made with the perfidious Britons, till they
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are sufficiently humbled, and have renounced every kind of empire over the free ocean. Suffer them not to detain the immense property of which they have robbed us. This duty you owe to the merchants by civil contract. Never let us be obliged again disgracefully to strike our colours, as a humiliating acknowledgment of our inferiority; but above all, do not suffer any more those pernicious intermarriages of the Stadtholder's house and that of England. They are the causes of all our adversities, of all our wars, and of all the old debts which oppress us. Follow the example which the Britons themselves have set us, in chusing for their Queen an inferior Princess, who had no great family connections. Act thus politically; and do not suffer for the future any of these marriage-alliances with great and powerful families, especially with the House of Great-Britain; and let me warn you, that if you take not proper care, such matches will again take place.

De Witt knew every cabinet council of the different powers in Europe; he saw the
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storm gathering from afar. He gave timely advice, that a great fleet and army must be held in readiness. But in vain. The danger was pressing; it grew worse and worse; but the faction of the House of Orange was under no apprehensions, and insisted on making young *William* their Captain-General, before they would consent to any augmentation of the troops. This obstinate and criminal opposition was the reason why we had no army, and why the enemy reached the heart of our country. Fortunately the fleet, over which *De Witt*, by means of the States of Holland, had more influence, was in some respect in a better condition, and to that alone we were indebted for the existence of our republick. Mean while the French took the field in the beginning of 1672, and in consequence of the general dissatisfaction and consternation, *William III.* an inexperienced youth of twenty-two years of age, was elected Captain-General. The faction of Orange was now in a fair way to carry all their measures. The French took one town after another; so that in a very short time they were masters of the three provinces of Gueldres, Utretcht, and Over-yssel,

yssel, and had advanced a great way into Holland. This proved an excellent opportunity for the party of Orange, to ascribe all the blunders and distresses, of which they alone had been guilty, by their opposition to the armaments, to the misconduct of the worthy *De Witts* and their partizans. The nation saw that they were in a bad plight, but were simple enough to believe that the *De Witts*, and the Louvensteyn party (for they were termed who opposed the election of a Stadtholder) had treacherously sold the country to France, and that nothing effectually could be done without declaring the young Prince Stadtholder, and putting the two brothers, the *De Witts*, to death. Alas! our credulous forefathers believed these impostors, and sunk by this fascination into absolute slavery. William III. was, consequently, declared Stadtholder, and the citizens of the Hague spirited up by hired ruffians, murdered, in a fit of blind patriotism, the *De Witts*. One of them was burgomaster of Dordrecht, and commissary of the navy (a place which seems now to be out of fashion) and had assisted at a terrible battle at sea. Instead of meeting with

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any reward when he came ashore, he was thrown into a dungeon and put to the torture upon the false accusation of a single evidence, a fellow of a most infamous character, stigmatized by more than one trial, and chiefly by a *crime*, which he had committed against the Lord and *Schout van Piersehil*. *De Witt* was found innocent, yet by the court of Holland, he was deprived of all his places and condemned to be exiled, merely to please the Prince. *William III.* had hired this false evidence to prove, that *De Witt* had offered him a bribe to murder *him*; it is fact that, at least, he rewarded this villain with a pension for life, as has been lately discovered and proved beyond any question. Nay, this good and noble Prince, the defender of the Protestant religion, dared openly to advise, that the murder of the two brothers ought not to be enquired into, as the enquiry might be dangerous to many principal fellow-citizens; and to the great indignation of honest men, the chief instigators to that detestable association, were afterwards particularly favoured and rewarded with places and pensions.

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He was by nature a great dissembler, an ambitious hypocrite. I cannot determine the nature of that vice, of which Bishop *Burnet*, though otherwise his parasite and panegyrist, owns him to have been guilty. He carefully concealed it even by the evidence of this courtly prelate. It must have been of a very infamous nature, because the very man who was not ashamed of giving publick countenance to murderers, and of keeping false evidences in pay and service, could think it worth his while to be particularly cautious in the commission of *one* crime. It must have been something worse than a dotage upon whores, which Princes and nobles have ever looked upon as a common and allowable amusement, and of which to my knowledge, *William* was never accused or suspected. All means for attaining his ends were fair, in *his* opinion. When he was King of England, he was not ashamed to settle a pension upon that notorious false evidence *Oates*. By his royal protection he got a greater power than any Stadtholder before him; the disposal of all places in the political as well as the military line, the nomination of the governors and magistrates,

gistrates, and the supreme command of the army.

When the French had retired from Geldres, Utrecht, and Overysfel, the States General, then absolutely under the influence and controul of *William*, were of opinion that the government of those three provinces should undergo the same alterations which in 1672 had taken place in the others; that is, that the delegates and governors, who had been in the party of the States, should at this time, and without any future prejudice to their respective privileges, be dismissed, and others should be put in their places; and to make these changes, their High-Mightinesses gave their full powers to *William*. But his pride and impudence went so far, that he forced an absolutely new government upon these unfortunate provinces; a government, which bordered very nearly on absolute sovereignty. In Utrecht, the States consist of three classes or chambers; the first are the old clergy; the second the lords and nobility, and the last the towns and cities. By this new form of government he got the power (not the right, for

usurpations never give *any* right), he got or rather took the power of changing the first chamber every three years, and the delegates of the cities every year in a discretionary manner. In respect to the nobility, he could elect their representatives and increase their numbers as often as he pleased. If you add to this the disposal of all places, and the command of the troops, what was there wanting to sovereignty? In Gueldres and Overyssel, where the States consist of two chambers, he made half of the votes absolutely dependent on himself; for he assumed the power to change the government of the cities in Gueldres every three years, and in Overyssel every year. 'Tis true, in Overyssel he left the annual election of the magistrates to the college of the sworn community, yet he reserved to himself the right of approving or rejecting their elections; and if they did not turn out to his satisfaction, then he put others directly in their places without any further new election of the sworn community, which he himself nominated for life. For these reasons the communities, even in our present times, do not elect any candidates but

but such as they foresee will be perfectly agreeable at court; for the present Stadtholders have enjoyed since 1747, the same power that *William III.* possessed. Being thus masters of half of the votes in the assembly of the States, and holding the other half, which generally consists of insignificant and hungry noblemen, under the influence of places, commissions, court-favours, besides, having the power of stopping, curtailing, or influencing the votes, which they likewise evidently reserve to themselves for the purpose of pre-determining the consultations and resolutions, cannot they thus model the transactions of the state as they please? Are not they perfectly sovereign to every intent and purpose? Such was always the power of *William III.* and such is the power of our present Stadtholders, who even since 1747, have in other provinces increased it. But I must return for a moment to *William III.*

In 1677, the sworn community of Deventer found themselves justly aggrieved on account of the annual government, which they were ordered to elect according to the
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new regulation. They elected them rather conformably to the old privileges of their city, and had them sworn without expecting the approbation of the Prince; for, as they declared, they could not in conscience conform to the new regulation of 1675, in contradiction to their privileges. But his Highness settled that matter in a very expeditious manner. He ordered the burgo-masters and commoners, that were so very nice with regard to conscience, to quit their offices; adding, that *as he would not part with the rights given to him by that new regulation, he would not obtrude the trouble of government on any one against his conscience.* When these orders arrived, twenty-two of the forty-eight common-council men were dismissed without any form of process, and others of more complying temper were substituted in their places. In Gueldres he suffered his creatures to offer him the ducal dignity; but as that project would not take in the other provinces, he refused the *intended honour* for the sake of keeping up appearances. Wherever there was any dissension, or wherever he could make any, he was mischievously active that he might not
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miss any opportunity of extending his power. This appeared at Goes in 1695, whither, on account of certain disputes about the resignation of certain places and charges, and against the will and intention of the major part of the magistrates and all the burghers, he sent troops, and changed the government; after which unconstitutional proceeding, he had the burgomasters *Westerwyk* and *Eversdyk*, and all the other amiable advocates of liberty and privileges, not only imprisoned by the new magistrates, his creatures, but likewise ill used by his myrmidons, in a manner which cried for vengeance, and which it would be too long to relate here. At *Middelburgh* there happened to be a contested election of a preacher; even that accident (who would have thought it!) gave our violent usurper an opportunity of changing the government, and of increasing his power, as may be seen at large in *Wagenaar*, vol. xiv. fol. 445, and vol. xvi. fol. 203. In 1688, he went with a Dutch squadron and army to England, by whose assistance he expelled his father-in-law (for he was likewise married to an English Princess) from the throne of Great-Britain, which

which he seized for himself. Though he was now made a King, yet he continued to be our Stadtholder, and ruled these provinces in a more despotical manner than he durst govern England. By *his* misconduct our Republic, till ten years after his death, which happened in 1702, was in a continual war with France, in which we spent our blood and money, for the sole advantage of perfidious England, as Baron *Van Cappelen Todenpol*, in his advice concerning the Scotch brigade, has in 1775 fully proved, with many other important facts. Yes, my countrymen! That William, by keeping us constantly at war with France, gave irreparable blows to our commerce and welfare, and at the same time oppressed us with innumerable debts, for the interest of which you still must pay heavy taxes: and though in a certain respect we had recovered a little, yet the friends of the worthy House of Orange dragged us again, in 1747, into an expensive and absolutely fruitless war. These are the services which we owe to the House of Orange.

William

William III. died in 1702. From that time to the year 1747, we had again, the same government as from 1650 to 1672. Our grandees acted just as before. In most of the provinces they seized, again, upon the whole government, excluding the commoners from every kind of share in it, except in some towns of the duchy of Geldern, where the commoners chose their own government. The nation was again discontented, and with more reason than at the period of the *De Witts*, when the principles of government were more regarded; for the Stadtholders, their government, and their court had poisoned the morals of our people, and had almost industriously taught them to regard no object but self-interest. This pernicious influence on the national character, arises in a particular manner from the government of Stadtholders. In those countries, where the commoners chose their own rulers and magistrates, as in some cantons of Switzerland, and in all the extent of the Thirteen United States of North America, every candidate of fortune or employment is under a necessity of behaving well and virtuously, of being humane, friendly and fer-

viceable to his fellow-citizens ; and chiefly, he must prove himself to be an advocate of public liberty and prosperity. In short, if he wishes for the favour and vote of his electors, he must be a true patriot. But in our country the case is very different. It avails nothing here, it is rather disadvantageous, to be popular, friendly and serviceable to our country ; to be an advocate for public liberty, privilege and welfare, and to prove an honest patriot. Whosoever wants a fortune or employment here, must pursue a quite different track. The favour of the Stadtholder is the only object which he must court ; and this, we know, is not to be obtained by virtuous behaviour, by a popular, friendly and serviceable disposition towards the people, or by any patriotic exertion for the public liberty, privileges and welfare. No. The Stadtholders want complying, gentle, yielding people. The old-fashioned noble obstinacy of fifteen hundred will not do for *them*. Privileges and liberties are as many bridles to the Princes of Orange ; therefore they are constantly trying to break them ; therefore they hate and persecute the patriots that dare to speak in defence of liberty,

berty, and of the privileges of the land; whilst they cherish and favour every one, that is dishonourable enough to assist them in the execution of their tyrannical schemes. Our worthy Princes of Orange, however speciously represented by their parasites and pensioners, are as bad as other Princes. They have the same perverted court education. From their infancy they are accustomed not to be contradicted, nor counteracted; therefore in their maturer years, they cannot bear the controul and opposition of public rights and liberties, which are intolerable to them; they have all the same kind of court; they live all in the same manner—in short, they are Princes, and will act like Princes. They could wish to have rich slaves like other monarchs, who give protection to the commerce of their subjects. The commerce of Amsterdam, which they now will ruin, they could wish to see in a flourishing condition, provided the city had admitted a garrison, and yielded to them the nomination of government; but powerful and opulent inhabitants, that are free, and dare to meet them with serious demands, and to thwart their intended measures, are intolerable to

them. 'Tis a true saying, that public liberty is slavery to the Sovereign.—Now as in this unfortunate country no preferment is to be had by virtue and public spirit, you see plainly that every one who wants employment or honourable preferment (and for very good reasons there are more of such persons amongst us than any where else) must be profligate, and not of patriotical and public-spirited sentiments, or he must at least carefully disguise his feelings and opinions on public subjects; you see, likewise, that I did not say too much, when I charged the government of Stadtholders with a pernicious influence over the manners and national character.

The faction of Orange never dropt their great object, they constantly and ardently pursued it, so that in many places the people took up arms against each other. Yet the party of the States still prevailed, and made the people bear their yoke, though much against their inclinations. At last, in the year 1742, the situation of the affairs of Europe gave to the faction of Orange an agreeable prospect of a war; for in peaceful times,

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it is almost impossible to bring about any great commotion or revolution. "The ambitious views of France," cried your seducers, "must be exposed; we must support the Queen of Hungary." "All those who disapproved that measure, were deemed French pensioners; those who spoke for neutrality, were traitors, and deserved the hatred of the public." Thus we entered again into a close alliance with the perfidious English, whose pensioners and emissaries had blown the fire among us, and who were highly pleased, that we were again foolish enough to exhaust ourselves for their advantage, and to adopt measures, which must necessarily cause a revolution in the government, and bring us again under their influence and command. O! Batavians! how is it possible, that we should not have long before observed and understood that the English, our sworn enemies, who have at every opportunity wished and really promoted our ruin, would not have been active for restoring the government of Stadtholders, and raising it to the highest degree of power, if they had not looked upon our true and legal government as propitious to our commerce,

commerce, welfare and liberty. Our happiness was always a thorn in their side; a stumbling-block to their pride. To lessen our happiness, to bring us to the ground, to ruin our commerce, to reduce us to a state of dependency, they gave us Stadtholders, who, as they were to *them* alone beholden for their exaltation, as they expected from *them* alone assistance for the further encroachments on our liberties, have always closely allied themselves with these our natural enemies, and have always, as true and faithful allies, been attached to their service; and who, as we again experience it too plainly now, would rather see this country ruined than quit their English party. This, Gentlemen! is the key to all that has happened in our days. Think of it yourselves. I tell you truth. The Stadtholders are a present from the English, and they surely never will give us any thing that will prove good and advantageous to us. Let those who write so learnedly and artfully on the advantages of the government of Stadtholders, refute my facts and propositions. The French, drawing nearer to our frontiers, offered us neutrality, advising us not to meddle again in
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affairs that did not concern us, and chiefly
 to guard against the insidious views of the
 English, who, by engaging us in a war,
 aimed at nothing but their own interest and a
 change in our government. But this advice
 was given in vain. The faction of Orange,
 supported by English guineas, prevailed.
 We were for war. We lost several battles
 and places of strength. The French were on
 our frontiers. Then the faction of Orange
 exclaimed, " There is treason in the land ;
 " we must have a Stadtholder ; the Prince
 " alone can save us !" as if he alone could
 fight whole armies. The members of the
 assembly of the States, though upon the
 whole not much entitled to popular affec-
 tion, were represented in the blackest co-
 lours ; but most of you were imposed upon
 by great and vain promises ; you were made
 to believe, " that all the grievances should
 " be redressed ; that you should not be en-
 " cumbered with taxes and contributions ;
 " and that on the contrary, you should be
 " restored to the possession of all your old
 " rights and privileges." The most active
 amongst you were collected in the streets ;
 the others were quiet spectators. None had
 spirit

spirit and penetration enough to give you good advice. You prayed for a Stadtholder, and they gave you *William IV.* as Saul was given to the Israelites. What are you the better for him? Has he, or his son, who now distresses us, restored you to your antient rights and privileges? Do you elect your Magistrates and Delegates? Have you fewer taxes to pay? Is your advice taken about the quantity and nature of your taxes? Do they give you any account of the expenditure of the public, or rather your own money, earned by your industry? Is any one of you properly informed of the enormous expence, which the keeping of the Stadtholder and of his numerous appendages costs you every year? What have you obtained by that change of government but another master, whom it will be more difficult to you to dethrone than your former tyrants?

What did the new created Stadholder? That favourite of the nation—that restorer of liberty? Well aware that he had practised upon you, by his emissaries and creatures, and apprehensive of your indignation if your eyes should be opened, he put his confidence
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in the army, and not trusting it to Dutchmen, by whom it had before been commanded, he filled our whole army with foreigners, chiefly with Germans; pretending, that it was for the sake of introducing the new discipline. Whole flocks of these contemptible fortune-hunters invaded us, and to be a foreigner was sufficient recommendation with our *patriotic* Prince, for getting military preferment in preference to our countrymen. Nay, many appeared in regimentals of the State, who had been expelled from their country with infamy. To make the army absolutely dependent on *himself* alone, and independent of every other civil power, he introduced again by force, the *military jurisdiction*. He would not suffer military persons, whether in criminal or civil cases to be tried by, or appear before any court of judicature; not even in law-suits, or concerning wills or evidence, or similar cases, but they were to be tried by the military court, of which he himself is master and president, and in which he causes sentences to be given as he pleases; or, if they are not to his mind, he arbitrarily changes them himself like the Grand Signior.

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This *military jurisdiction* was chiefly instituted by Prince *Maurice*, as an effectual means for extending his power in these free countries; and all the following Stadtholders, impelled by the same domineering spirit, and in direct opposition to the warm complaints of the provinces, cities, and courts of law, against that dangerous innovation, have ever since the beginning of the last century, supported this their beloved mean, of oppression, as one of the dearest prerogatives of their dignity. Whosoever objects against it, is sure to incur the greatest displeasure of the court; of which Baron *Van der Capellen Totdenpol* is a living proof. You plainly see, my countrymen! that by a natural consequence of this military jurisdiction, we cannot have any other law against military people, than what our master, the Prince, will please to grant us; whatever may be their crime, or whatever may be the amount of their debts. Many of you have experienced yourselves, how justice is managed by soldiers, who necessarily understand fighting better than law; and how troublesome and expensive it is to go for law to a foreign court, and to sue military persons

sons at the Hague, before the high military court;—but I return to my subject.

The quarter of Nimeguen had bought the county of Cullenburg, with the property of the landholders. The foolish delegates, in order to make an offering to the new idol, offered him that county and he accepted it. The East India Company presented him with the thirty-third part of their dividend, and the Amphion Society, I do not know with how many *actions*. All *that* he took. Can such a man say with old Samuel, *Behold, here I am; witness against me before the Lord, whose ox I have taken? Or whose ass I have taken? Or whom have I oppressed? Or of whose hand received I any bribe?* Can a Prince, who pretends to value himself on being an *object of affection of a free people*, and yet accepts for himself and for his family of a command, which is inconsistent with all the ideas of liberty; can such a Prince, I say, seriously expect to be credited in his assertions? Believe me, my friends! whatever certain people may tell you, and whatever assurances our hereditary Stadtholders may give you of their intention to risk every

thing for your liberty, and to defend it for ever: believe me, falsehood and dissimulation are as congenial to princes, as their continual desire of greater power. There is no liberty, there *can* be no liberty, in a land where a single man has the hereditary command of a great army; where he makes and unmakes the government, or can keep it under his controul and influence; where he disposes of all the places; where, by his appointment of professors, he may direct what the youths are to learn in the universities; where the people are kept in ignorance; where they are unarmed, and totally insignificant. This, Batavians, is your situation. But I return to *William IV.*

After the re-establishment of the military jurisdiction, which the above-mentioned Baron *Van de Capellen Totdenpol*, has very aptly called a hideous monster, the game act drew his whole attention. The Stadtholders have always been very jealous of it, well knowing, that if but few are allowed to kill game, few only will learn to manage a gun; and that nations are easily kept in subjection,
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in proportion as they are defenceless or unexperienced in the use of arms.

For the same reason, but under other pretences, the shooting at the falcon or target, are fallen into disrepute and disuse.

The best thing that our *William IV.* ever did (for he was far from being the worst of our Princes) was his attempt to introduce a free-port; that goods should not pay any duties or customs, whether imported or exported.

A pity it is, that this point was not carried, for it is the only means of reviving our sickly and languishing trade; and it would be wise and prudent to imitate early, in that respect, the example which the Emperor has lately set us.

At the decease of *William IV.* we fell into the hands of a female Regent. She ruled over us as we might have expected of an English Princess; and, agreeably to the views for which the English had sent her. Our commerce, we all well remember, she left

left a prey to her rapacious countrymen ; she would not suffer it to be properly protected : nay, her impudence went so far, that by her secretary *Larrey*, (who was likewise a foreigner) she openly answered the merchants, when they applied for protection, and men of war, “ *It was become a point of honour with her, not to grant any equipment of men war, without augmenting the army,*” which she wanted for this *only purpose*, to send half of it to her father the King of England, of our hereditary enemies, and thus to engage us in a war with the King of France, who did us great service, and granted us all possible commercial advantages. God, at last, delivered us from that Jezabel, and then the government came, during the nonage of the present Stadtholder, into the hands of the States-General, or rather into those of Duke *Lewis of Brunswick*, whom *William IV.* in the decline of his life, had ordered from Germany ; that after his decease he might take care of his family-affairs, which indeed he did, beyond any expectation. I say, that he might take care of the affairs of the House of Orange ; for, properly speaking, he had nothing

thing to do with the affairs of the nation. He was not hired for that purpose.

William V. our present Stadtholder being come to age, began, by the advice of this his trusty Achitophel, to go in the way of his fore-father; that is to say, in the way to sovereignty, or rather he acted the sovereign.

At *Campen*, twenty-nine members of the common-council, out of the thirty-six, had united in a protest against the regulation of wardship of the young Prince, which the Princess Dowager and Regent would force upon them, and to which the common-councils of the other towns in *Overyssel* had unwillingly agreed, as it was an open infringement of their privileges. The Princess Regent being dead, the magistrates, in conformity with their privileges, which ever since the earliest antiquity have been, and are still respected amongst them, proceeded to the annual election of their government, which consists of fourteen burgomasters, thirteen of whom were befriended by the Duke and his dependents, I mean the States General; and accordingly, they had the gar-
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rison ready for assistance when it might be wanted. They continued in their places, tho' they had not been elected for the following year; and though they might have been superseded and expelled, had the lawful election been properly supported, they continued in their offices, supported by the whole interest of the faction of Orange, in spite of the protest; and without any lawful election, they maintained themselves in possession of the chair. The common-council having found, that the publication of their election was prevented by force; nay, seeing what had never been heard of before, that during their deliberations they were under a military guard, they drew up a memorial, in which they declared these pretended burgomasters to be mere usurpers and invaders, and dissolved the meeting for that day. Seven members of the assembly, however, kept their seats, fortune-hunters, three of whom were soon after promoted to the place of burgomaster; and such was the impudence of the thirteen burgomasters, that with these seven, whom at the decease of any of the thirty-six they restored with a creature of their own making, they took upon themselves the government of the town,

town, and have not ever since admitted any of the other twenty-nine, though they were the majority; except some few, who at the expiration of two years were weary of inactivity, and submitted to sign a certain paper. Nay, the thirteen burgomasters dared to send a resolution to their colleague Mr. *Roldanus*, ordering him, who was of the party of the oppressed common-council, to be present at the meeting of the magistrates, when the affairs of the twenty-nine were to be taken into consideration. The dismissed, or rather *the neglected* twenty-nine (for that trick of *neglect* is become familiar to the court-party in Overijssel, as will directly appear from the case of Baron *Van der Capellen*) have never since found any protection, not even from the present Stadtholder; who, when come to age, instead of disapproving the violence offered to them, instead of putting them again into the possession of their places, has rather, to this very day, given public proofs of approbation, favour, and confidence, to the authors and most active promoters of that scandalous violation.

Professor *Van der Marck*, a thoroughly honest and learned man, who greatly pro-

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moted the flourishing state of the University of Groeningen, inculcated to his students, principles and sentiments of liberty; sentiments, however, which instead of being dangerous, were rather very favourable to the family of the Stadtholder, for which he always professed the highest respect.

But the word, the very name of *liberty*, was not to be suffered. Our Master, the Prince, would not forgive this professor, for not employing his talents, as others did, for not training young slaves for his service. He was expelled from the university, under pretence of heterodoxy; he had his place taken from him in the most illegal and infamous manner. The poor man had a numerous family; yet the Prince was not ashamed to own in his letters and advices, which have been published, that he himself acted the principal part in this business: that the objected heterodoxy was only the pretended, not the true cause, of his dismissal, appears not only from his having been since called to another foreign reformed university, where he has got church preferment, but chiefly from this circumstance, that when Mr. *Perrenot* was called to the profession of *Vander Marck*, and begged to

be excused from accepting it, as he was of the same religious persuasion and principles, the Prince ordered the curators of the university to declare to him, that if he would accept the professorship, he should be excused from signing the articles of Unity. The only object then under the pretence of heterodox principles, had been the removal of poor Mr. *Van der Marck*.

Baron *Van der Capellen*, Lord *Van Denpol*, and one of the nobles of Overijssel, was made one of the assembly of the states, yet he was determined never to accept any place or commission under government; as he often and openly declared, as well before as after his election; and his veracity and constancy, in spite of his enemies, he has fairly proved by his conduct in the said assembly. He conceived, that, if that small share of liberty, which the Stadtholders have left us, was to be preserved, no time was to be lost; and that the daily encroachments and increasing power of the House of Orange, must be opposed in a most public and serious manner. Now as the greatest support of its power and influence is the army, the Baron always op-

posed its augmentation; and insisted that a stop should be put to the employment of foreigners, in consequence of the inalienable right of every citizen in a free state, "*to be alone employed in the service of their country, because they alone pay its taxes.*" These were his own words, which in 1773 he was heard to utter in the presence of our Prince.

When the commissions in Overijssel were again to be disposed of, he sent to our *William V.* a very memorable letter, to which he never has had the favour of an answer. He represented to him, that the regulation of government required a nomination of some persons for the vacant commissions, similar to what had been given not long ago, during the life of the late Princess Regent. He reminded him, that he and every other member of the state had given their oath to observe that regulation; and modestly pointed out the consequences, which might arise from the neglect of such a fundamental law. At the same time the Baron, as member of the state, delivered a similar proposition to the States of Overijssel. But these gentlemen, being,

being, like the representatives of all the other inland provinces, dependents and vassals of the Prince, refused to take the matter into deliberation; therefore the Prince, in defiance of his oath, disposed of the commissions without any nomination of the States, and the States approved of his disposals without any retrospect to the Baron's protest.

The King of England having considered with the Prince how they might involve our republic in the difficulties, which the oppression of the Americans had brought upon the English, and how they might most effectually prevent us from reaping any advantages from them, and from extending our trade, they agreed, that the Prince himself, like an English commissary, should apply, in pressing terms, to the several States of the provinces, and desire them to lend our Scotch regiments to his nephew and ally.

The proposal was accepted by all the provinces; but our Baron, in Overijssel, saw through all the danger of that step; pointed it out clearly, and flatly refused compliance
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with this insidious request; which had been made with this view, that, had this part of our army passed the water, we should have been engaged deeper and deeper, just as in 1742. A few weeks after, the city of Amsterdam gave a similar negative, but in a more prudent manner.

The Baron saw not only the consequences, which the loan of those troops must have produced on the peace and welfare of his country; he was not only sensible of the iniquity which would have disgraced us, had we assisted towards the oppression of people, who had never offended us, and who fought for a just cause; he observed, likewise, the secret plan of our Prince, which was to make this loan a pretext for getting more regiments under his command; for it would have been found expedient, first to levy some new regiments in the place of the Scots, and then to keep them altogether with those that had been sent to the West. Something like that had happened formerly. The Baron, having laid open this scheme, declared, in plain old Dutch language, that he turned more averse, every day, to
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any augmentation of the army, as long as that monster of the military jurisdiction had any existence. How glad would our *William* have been, had it been in his power to silence him ! He, and his faithful ally, the King of England, had pushed their demand of public satisfaction to such a pitch, as almost to drive this unsupported gentleman from his own country ! But to all appearance, the time was not yet come for depriving us of so excellent a citizen.

Wolfenbittel, his sworn enemy, guessed, from the firm character of this patriot, that sooner or later he would bring himself into a more dangerous predicament. The Prince was satisfied, that all the Baron's protests were cancelled from the records of state; and that a strict watch was now kept upon him in order to expel him, with any opportunity, from the assembly of the States. This wished-for opportunity at length arrived. The Baron, conscious of his oath and duty, and thinking himself obliged to resist any injustice, and to protect the invaded rights and liberties of the landholders, asserted the rights of the peasants in his province, who were oppressed by being

ing compelled to perform unlawful services to the States ; he proved, that these services of the Droffarts were never permitted ; that they were prohibited three hundred years ago ; that they were disagreeable even to our tyrant Philip ; that the States granting, in 1631, an augmentation to the pension of the Droffarts, had expressly forbid them any other kind of personal service or other emoluments ; he insisted, that personal service ought to be abolished for ever ; and that at all events the present Droffarts might have an indemnification for them out of the provincial treasury. The Prince, not bearing that the boors and country-people should know any thing about the principles of liberty and civil society, and that the Baron had printed and published a memorial on personal service, which candidly instructed them in those principles, did not consider, that by birth and family he was a representative of his country ; his well known creatures were set to work ; every one of them has since been rewarded by his Highness by publick distinctions, places, and commissions ; and the Baron was, without any form of process, expelled the assembly of the States ; an expulsion, which has now for
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three years been in force! It is true, the same policy, which was observed with regard to the twenty-nine common-councilmen and to the burgomaster Roldanus, at Campen, has been observed with regard to the Baron. He has not been absolutely expelled or dismissed. No. He is still a nominal member of the States; has still, as I know from good authority, access to the provincial papers; is still paid, I think, a hundred guilders, as other noble members of the State; and is, in every other respect, considered as one, except that he is for ever excluded from the assemblies, where they were galled with his vote and opposition. They have not only refused reparation of honour to their fellow Regent of the States, whom, in a publick placart of October 27, 1778, they called by his name, a liar and seducer of the people: but the impudence of the nobles in Overijssel has even gone so far, in their last provincial meeting, as to reply to the Baron's repeated and pressing desire of an amicable composition of their differences, "that it would expose and
 " degrade their honour and authority; that
 " their posterity would blame them for it;
 " that the dignity of the State put them ra-

“ ther under a necessity of applying to a
 “ court of justice, to have satisfaction for
 “ the injury he, the Baron *Van depol*, had
 “ done them;” and other such futile inso-
 lence they threw out, which must appear the
 more foolish and ridiculous, as they never
 had been prevented from going to law; and
 the Baron had already, in November 1779,
 endeavoured to force them, by legal means,
 either to begin their suit or to be silent for
 ever,

For shame, Prince! Are not all your replies
 to his petitions published, in which, without
 any hearing, you have declared him guilty?
 Have not all the papers appeared in print,
 which have any reference to this scandalous
 affair, and to your cruel design? You mean
 to do as your forefathers did. They annihila-
 ted the nobility of Zealand, seizing and
 holding their seats and votes in the assembly,
 under the bare pretence of their being the
 first amongst the nobility. You mean to do
 as you and your forefathers have done to the
 towns and cities, which you have brought
 under your command; and whose magistrates,
 in so many provinces, you can by your so-
 vereign

vereign will and pleasure appoint or dismiss. You mean, in the same manner, to subdue those of the nobility, who are not yet quite under your sway. Your intention is to make all the parts of government equally depending on *you*; and those that are refractory to your bribes and invitations, and dare to oppose you, you mean to ruin, by a hired majority, who never will be in want of pretences for doing mischief and for serving you.—All who are friends to their country—all who do their duty—who incur your displeasure, will, at your command, be driven from their seats by that majority of slaves, which you have it in your power to indemnify at all events. The most innocent and worthy members of the state, you can outlaw by your ruffians; and at your pleasure you can make them take away places, and hereditary and inalienable rights. *O! William V.* I do not summon you before God and the nation, to exculpate yourself from these articles of accusation; nor do I summon your tools, that without your countenance would not have dared to perpetrate such crimes; but I speak to *you* alone, who employed and supported them, and in the person of *Baron Van-*

der Capellen, have injured, persecuted, and endangered every other member of the State!

I know very well that this affair, and the war with England, is considered by the nation in a quite different manner from what you expected. I know, likewise, that it begins to embarrass you; and that, would the Baron apply to you again, you might, perhaps, for the sake of external decorum, allow him some sort of trial; but I hope he is too well acquainted with your hostile disposition towards him, and knows too much of your influence, to think any more of that resource. The fate of *Barneveldt*, of the *De Witts*, of *Amsterdam*, and other men and places, must have taught him what a Stadtholder is capable of doing, and what others will do for a Stadtholder. He cannot, therefore, have any reasons for being desirous of a trial; and it is almost inconceivable, that he should have so often insisted on a trial, and should even have attempted to compel the States of Overijssel to that measure by the action for defamation, which he had brought against them.

Is there of all your ancestors any one, that deaf to so many bitter complaints of so many members of the State, and of so many Courts of Justice, has dared to support and to enforce the military jurisdiction as stubbornly and openly as yourself? In that respect you have outdone even *William III.* whom you have been heard to accuse of having neglected the prerogatives of the Stadtholders.

The liberty and safety of a nation, which raised you and your House to consequence, and always honoured you with the greatest confidence, you despised so much in 1768, that you ordered a citizen and merchant at Zutphen to be punished by the garrison and military court. The least aggravating circumstance of this crime, was his innocent suffering; but, when the States of Geldern, your masters, had all your judicial proofs, concerning this matter, sent to them, you dared to tell them in your letter of May 3, 1768, “ that you considered the official reports of your officers as full proofs; and “ that the citizen, who was a prisoner under “ the provost, could not have been released “ without your special inquiry and permission.”

“mission.” As if the States had no right to give orders to the army in their provinces. Besides, you have passed a military sentence on a citizen, upon no other proof than these reports;—a sentence which you have it in your power to pronounce yourself, or to have pronounced by others, according to your will and pleasure. In these two articles, Sir, you have absolutely supplanted the most sacred rights of our nation, in such a manner, that in these dwellings of the old Batavians, not any asylum is left against your armed hand. Exculpate yourself if you can.

Citizens, under your government, have often been ill-treated by military officers, without ever obtaining any satisfaction, though the magistrates of their respective towns insisted upon it in the most solemn manner; and represented to you the precarious and dangerous state of liberty and property, if those excesses of the army were not prevented for the future. But you aim at a military government over us, and therefore you see with pleasure, that the soldiery, your slaves and tools, lord it over us; for this reason you
always

always protect them, so that we cannot live with them as brothers and members of the same politic body, nor show them the respect, which is due to their noble calling when it is not misapplied. We are almost afraid when we behold a blue coat.

Is there a single article of any fundamental law, on which you have not encroached, well knowing, that we have no spirit left to defend our laws? Is there any place in the gift of the States or Corporations, which you do not often invade for yourself, or your parasites? Are not those, who have any places to give, under an absolute necessity of disposing of them hastily and secretly, for fear of your indiscreet recommendations, which no body dares to neglect? Have you any regard for the votes of the States in case of grievances? How many Burgomasters have you, since the beginning of your government, forced upon the cities of Geldern and other provinces, in defiance of their privileges; many that were no burghers, many that were too young to take their oaths, or many that were disqualified by other places which they held before?

fore? But privileges are your abomination; they confine your power, and were they properly supported, there would be an end to your arbitrary government. The corporations of sworn commoners in the towns of Geldern, are the only support and foundation of our common liberty. Why do you suffer them to fall into decay, disrespect and poverty? For no other reason, than that you will not suffer any opposition, and mean to rule over us without controul.

Who has entitled you to to grant permissions of hunting to unqualified persons? Who has entitled you to take the right of hunting away from many who had it without your grant? Or to make those arbitrary and tyrannical forest and game regulations, which, introducing again the horrors of inquisition, are the natural causes of thousands of perjuries and intolerable vexations of the country people. Do not the poor country people in the *Velauwe* curse your name? Fatigued and harrassed out by their hard labour in the day-time, they have no rest at night; as in time of war, they must watch their fields and crops against the stags
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and deer, which your father imported from abroad, and which under your immediate protection and for your entertainment alone, live, and fatten, and multiply at the cost, and by the labour of the poor country people. If you had the least feelings for the peasants, as the most useful members of the community; if you had any feelings of humanity, you must have long ago given a favourable hearing to the humble petitions of the poor country people in Overijssel. They requested you in a publick manner, that you would be pleased to free them from the illegal and slavish personal services, which the Drossarts, your creatures, have forced upon them. Had you complied with their request, Baron *Van der Capellen* could not have had any reason to complain in his treatise on personal services, that, though the provincial treasury is put to great expence for watching and keeping your deer and game, yet no provision is made for midwives; nor would you be so dreadfully accountable to God and man for the lives of so many poor children, and of so many women so fatally treated in child-bed. Be assured, you will meet with a severe retaliation here-

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after,

after, for the abuse of your enormous power here.

Who is favoured with your confidence, but those whom you and your Achitophel know beforehand to be accomplished knaves, or whom you may expect to prove such after their preferment? Are not by far the greater part of your favourites, the most abandoned wretches of the human race?

What kind of men do you chuse in the provinces, to sit in the assembly of the States, in the privy council, in the admiralities, and in other publick courts? Do not you chuse those only, who are abandoned enough to sell their votes; who are shamefully ignorant, or who are too timid to make any proper and spirited opposition? The man of honour, the man of knowledge, the brave patriot, the man who dares to speak and who *can* speak, you consider as your enemies; you shun their society, you fear them, they will not do for your purposes, they are *dangerous persons*.

Why

Why do not you employ Baron *Van der Capellen Lord Van der Marset* ? You will *not* employ him, in spite of Burghers and Boors, and all those who know his character. Why do you hate this patriot ? For no other reason, but because he can speak, and dares to speak ; because he is a hearty friend of Baron *Van der Capellen Totdenpol* ; because he has made your plan abortive for assembling an army, that you might the better lord it over us, and have your soldiers the better at command ; because he always insists on the augmentation of the navy, and on an alliance with France and America ; because he voted for the immediate acceptance of the offered armed neutrality ; because he advised the defence of our unfortunate country against the British attack, and against *your* treacherous influence ; because he deems it to be detestable and intolerable, that the Scots, still under oath and allegiance to England, are not only kept in our service, but, what after-times will scarce believe, were likewise intended by your patriotick proposition, even to be augmented in the course of this treacherous war with England ; because he has dared to stand forth in defence of the rights of our

gallant countrymen, who should be employed in the military service of their own country; and because he finds it inexcusable in you, to dispose of the best and principal military commissions in favour of foreign Princes, Dukes, Counts, and other great persons, while you neglect the natives. These are the crimes of this nobleman. He is a *dangerous man*. 'Twould be fortunate for you, if the nobility in Zutphen were as complaisant and tame as the nobility in Overijssel. Then you might easily remove this troublesome opponent.

Is not the manner, in which you have at last been successful enough to remove from the State assembly of Holland, that warm and independent advocate of our commerce and welfare, the gallant *Van Berkel*, a proof, that you dare, and *can* do any thing? Not having dependents enow at Amsterdam to subdue him, you bring to your aid your friend *Yorke*, in the name of your nephew the King of England; and, though he was but a servant of his masters, whose commands he was to execute, and for which, not he, but his employers were answerable, though

though he was not guilty of any offence against the King of England, you suffered him to be called to an account and to be involved in great difficulties. Nor did that satisfy you. Even the brother of our patriotick and universally beloved pensionary, was to feel your hatred; and by your contrivance, he was excluded from the burgo-mastership of Rotterdam, to which he was, by his rank, the next successor.

How shamefully and despotically have you abused and misapplied your right of granting pardons? Instead of proving a means of softening the severity of the laws in favour of unfortunate malefactors, you have given asylums to the most abominable wretches, that henceforth they may proceed with impunity in the perpetration of their crimes. O! *William!* where shall we have security against you in our own country? You even grant impunity to the most barbarous assassins.

How have you used the army? Have you ever pitied the hard fate of 36,000 men, who for the miserable pittance of 28d. have
fold

fold their liberties and lives, and are literally slaves? Have you ensured to us the affection of these men, by a permanent augmentation of pay, in consequence of Baron *Van der Capellen's* proposal in Overijssel, in 1773, or by the liberal grant of 700,000 florins, which the city of Amsterdam assigned you for that purpose? Your irresistible ambition of having a greater number of troops under your command, is the cause why their pay has been augmented only for a short time, and why the army is deprived of the permanent enjoyment of so considerable a sum of money. Have not you sent away the old officers, who were in full pay and enjoyment of their companies? Have not you filled their places with young adventurers without pay, and have not you by so doing rendered the army useless for publick service? Whom but *you* must the army thank for those continual vexations of exercising soldiers, changing of garrisons, and a variety of superfluous discipline? To what does all this tend? Is it to train the army of the State? No! It is merely to make them forget, that they are men and fellow-subjects, to keep them absolutely separated from the nation,

tion, to deprive them of every sense of humanity, and to make them blind and obsequious tools of *your* pleasure.

With what intention do you carry the military discipline so far, as to subject officers and private men, without distinction, to superior command, even in respect to their private and domestic affairs? Cannot every one in the army, supported by you, exert his authority over those, that are but one degree under him, in things that have no reference whatever to military service? Have not we seen even women dragged to the guard-houses? Whence proceeds this conduct? I shall tell it you, Prince. You are the crown and centre of the illegal power which is exercised by the army. It flows from you alone. The more servile the army is, the freer and the more independent you are, the more you may trust them, if ever you should order them such service, as they would refuse to perform, if they were free-men and fellow-citizens. The time for trying that experiment is perhaps drawing near. Our troops, whilst they consisted of inlanders, were satisfied and happy,

py, and behaved always well. Liberty is perfectly consistent with the most exact discipline. But it is the highest pitch of tyranny to drive along free warriors like a herd of cattle, and to subject them in their domestick affairs to the command and authority of their officers. Are not you absolute and arbitrary in the military promotions? Many brave men have been, and are daily driven from the service in despair, merely because you chuse to fill a vacancy with your favourites and your foreigners.

The vengeance of heaven is loudly called for, when a foreign Baron, who was broke in the Imperial army, and banished from the Imperial dominions for having committed a rape, was placed in our horse as Colonel, with an expectation of the next vacant company; and that you should have treated the remonstrances of the most respectable magistrates against this scandalous advancement with supreme contempt, and answered them in the most despotical style; viz. that it must remain so, and that you were not inclined to make any alteration in it.

Have

Have not you placed in the regiment of Baden two foreigners, one a Polander and the other a bastard of the Margrave's, both with Captains commissions and an expectation of the next vacant company? Has not this given great offence to many worthy officers? and has not one of them thrown up his commission on that account.?

Why have you encumbered Holland with so many troops, and chiefly with foreigners, or regiments that are commanded by foreign officers? Is it to oppose an English invasion? That pretext is too absurd to be admitted. The truth is, that you and your friends meant to raise by this war an insurrection. Had this insurrection turned against the patriots (for it was chiefly aimed at *them*, and such was your expectation of the event, that the English newspapers spoke of it as an unavoidable accident, which actually had taken place at Amsterdam) then surely you would have employed these troops for the purpose of crushing the patriotick party, and of usurping, in the general confusion, a greater power. But as matters have turned otherwise, and the people are

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rather

rather inclined to oppose you and to insist upon redress of their grievances, your intention is to check the dissatisfied by your troops and by your hirelings in the government. This is your scheme, and the plain reason why you want encampments, why you have hitherto kept all the troops in Holland, which is the most powerful province, and why you retain, all over the country, your spies, that find their way into all our companies and absolutely deprive us of the pleasures of free society. Is it not you, Sir ! who have made our nation fearful, reserved, and hypocritical, and spoiled our old open Dutch characters ? Are not you inquisitive even into private and sacred correspondence ?

What has been your conduct, since the beginning of the American war, towards our merchants, towards our country, and its dearest interests ? You have always been connected in a servile manner, with the interest of the royal family in England, which, I aver, has always had a design to subdue this country, and to seize and ruin our commerce ; and with those views, has twice
procured

procured the Stadtholdership to your family. Thinking that we are still too strong for them, and still in too prosperous a state to court their relation, they have now intended to make you an absolute sovereign; and thus you have not permitted us to resist the violences and robberies of these your friends and allies. You would not have us armed in defence of our power at sea, where thousands of seamen and greater property, than the whole State revenue of the three provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, and Overijssel, are left to the bare protection of treaties, and to the discretion of your English ferocious robbers and blood-hounds. The complaints of the merchants, who spoke in behalf of so many thousands, nay in behalf of the whole nation, and their petitions were alike despised by you. The blood of your countrymen, who were abused, tortured and murdered by your Englishmen at sea, cried in vain for your vengeance. Your Englishmen demanded, that merely out of friendship for *them* we should give up one of the most profitable branches of trade, which was offered to us in time of war, and was offered to *us* alone, whose

commerce is inconsiderable in time of peace, to us, who must and can live and prosper only by neutrality in time of war; and you left our land, and its inhabitants, and all the ships, which carry timber and other stores, wholly unprotected; you neglected the protests of Amsterdam and other less powerful branches of the commonwealth, and you pretended that the republic was not sufficiently armed for defending their rights against the English. But certainly that was not the case. Under pretence of our not being sufficiently armed, you kept back the general convoys; and to prevent us from ever giving a sufficient protection to our ships, you privately put every kind of obstruction to our building and arming of men of war. Only for the sake of show and of occasional excuse, you passed a resolution, that first, two-and-thirty, and then, two-and-fifty men of war should be got ready. It is harder upon the merchants that *they* should be at the expence of their own protection, than it would be upon the inland provinces when left to their own strength. They collect and pay chearfully their heavy and oppressive burthens; they pay them in expectation

expectation of that protection, which they have never yet obtained.

Is not this perfidy? Are not you, Sir, the true, the only cause of the late numerous losses, and of the ruin of so many honest merchants? Are not you in justice bound to indemnify them? What plea can you urge, when you must be sensible you are amenable to law for your neglect of duty? Answer these charges, Captain-General of the Netherlands, Admiral, and Commander of the sea!

The Empress of Russia offered us a defensive alliance. She sent her ships in order to join ours. Are not *you* alone the cause, that we did not directly enter into the alliance? Have not you, by your shameful delay, given time to your friends the English, to try their briberies and other arts, and thus to make that well-planned alliance vanish into smoke? This could not have happened, had we directly joined our fleet to that of the Empress, which for that purpose was cruizing before the Texel. Let not the Prince attempt to excuse himself.

self. The letters are too well known, in which you dissuaded the States from entering into that alliance, though in this instance they paid more respect to the people than to you. Your scheme was evidently of too dangerous a nature. Great however is the service, which by counteracting and preventing this alliance of an armed neutrality, you have done to your English friends; for had it taken place, there would have been an end of their empire of the sea. You may depend upon their gratitude; they may perhaps keep their word, and, as *Yorke* has made you believe, your daughter may become one day Queen of England, and one of the English Princesses may be married to your son, our hereditary Prince.

Can you aver before God, that you never attempted to drag us into a war with France and America? Can you deny, that, when that attempt miscarried, you had previous notice and knowledge of the war, which the English have begun against us? That you endeavoured to keep us defenceless at sea? That you foresaw the difficulties which that war
must

must bring upon our defenceless country, and which you hoped to charge on the innocent, the absolutely innocent magistrates of Amsterdam, the pensionary *Van Berkel*, the two *Vander Capellens*, the petitionary merchants, and other honest men? Did not you hope and expect, that the people would be imposed upon as formerly; that they would raise tumults and insurrections? And for the salvation of the country, invest *you* with greater power, that is, with absolute sovereignty? Did not you intend to support these insurrections with your soldiery? Do not deny, William, that this favourite scheme and conduct of your ancestors has been prosecuted by *you*; do not deny your own letter to the States of Friezland, dated January 29, 1779, in which you speak of the equitable measures of the King of France, our natural ally, against some members of our Republick, who, under your influence, had publicly declared themselves in favour of the English, his enemies, and in which you dare to speak of them in such a manner, that it is astonishing that this powerful monarch has not long ago resented your insolence against *you* and your English faction? Do not deny your
stubborn

stubborn partiality for England, and your intimacy and correspondence with *Yorke*, in which you have long persisted, and in which possibly you still proceed? Can you deny your inveterate hatred of all those that seem to countenance your English sentiments? Your sentiments are evinced by the pleasure, by the zeal, with which you were employed in laying before their High Mightinesses the papers which were taken with the American ambassador Laurens. You delivered them yourself; you accompanied them with severe remarks, with every acrimony that tended to involve the people of Amsterdam, and our other patriots, in difficulties. Your sentiments were evinced by the joyful countenances of your courtiers at our distresses. They were evinced, by that unnatural satisfaction which you dared to show, when the news of the engagement with *Parker*, on the 5th of August arrived, when you were heard to say (these are your own words) “*that the English had not struck neither.*” Your villainy is likewise betrayed by the exultation of your Lady from Guelderland, which she imprudently and openly shewed at the loss of St. Eustatius; adding, “*that this change*”
 “ of

“ of affairs was necessary to bring the proud
 “ spirit of Amsterdam to reason.” This
 Lady lives with you upon the most intimate
 terms; she must be well acquainted with
 your manner of thinking; for you are as
 loose in your moral principles as other Prin-
 ces, and give her the preference to your
 blooming and new-married Princess. You
 are as fully betrayed by the satisfaction of
 your court at the numerous bankruptcies of
 the merchants, and by the prejudice which,
 at your instigation, our Republick has al-
 ways shown against the Americans, to such a
 degree, that the exportation of gun-powder
 to our colonies has been prohibited; and that
 even our West-India traders have been put to
 a very short allowance of that commodity for
 their own use, whilst the German slaves,
 bought for the service of England, in order
 to fight against the Americans, were suffered
 to march through our country, and to be
 publicly reviewed, with the assistance of
 our garrison, at Nimeguen.

You are so headstrong, that you rather
 would see our country sunk in the ocean
 than dismiss from your person the Duke of

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Brunswick, though he is become an object of publick hatred, and for that very reason he is unfit to do us any service as your counsellor, even upon a supposition that he was a man of the strictest honour. Your infamous direction of our naval affairs; your sending out, one by one, of more than twenty men of war, a very short time before the rupture, though you knew before-hand that they might be taken, one by one: your keeping back of the orders for sailing, when a few of our men of war might have taken the convoy with German recruits, which was intended for America; a capture which would have considerably weakened the English army; your sending of *Zoutman* and his heroes with so small a force; your private and verbal orders, which even a *Lynden* found exceptionable, and a hundred other instances of that kind, too long and too numerous to be mentioned here, betray *you*, and the object which you have in view.

But what need have we of proofs, when the effects speak against you. You can do every thing in our republick. In most of the provinces, in the assembly of the States-General,

General, in the Colleges of Admiralty, in the Privy-Council, which are altogether beset with your creatures, you can model what resolution you please. If you have a mind to it, you can make every one do his duty. We have seen, we have experienced what you *can* do. You might have long ago ordered your vassals, your inland provinces, and your admiralties, to send a squadron to sea: I say, you might have ordered them, for scarce any body is admitted into the higher colleges but your dependents. You alone represent the *States-General*, the *Admiralties*, the *Provincial States*. You are all in all; and therefore we expect every thing from you alone. If nobody dares to contradict you in such resolves as are hurtful to the country, who could have dared to contradict you, had you in good earnest resolved that we should arm ourselves at sea, repress the insults of the English, protect our commerce, and make the country flourish;—or being engaged in a war, as we are now, that we should strengthen ourselves by that profitable and natural alliance with the enemies of our hereditary enemy, with the House of Bourbon, and with America? Who could have wished

or dared to oppose you in such patriotick attempts? That nothing of all this has been done; that we are engaged in a war, and cannot enjoy the advantages of neutrality and free navigation as the Russians, Swedes, and Danes, who have armed themselves, and have not been betrayed by their Sovereigns; that we are blocked up in our own harbour, whilst many of our gallant countrymen at sea, are hunted down like a few lions by a host of hunters; that so many acceptable proposals for arming ships have been rejected; that in these dangerous conjectures we are without allies; that we do not dare to join the powers of France and America, though this would be the only way for a speedy and honourable peace, and for the restoration of our commerce; that to this very day the American ambassador, as formerly the envoy of the parliament, cannot get an audience; and that, accordingly, our country runs the risk of being absolutely ruined by the English, and of incurring, if not the hatred and detestation, at least the neglect of America, which will be but equitable restitution; all this, Prince! is *your* work, is *your* glory. You will not have us allied with France and with America.

America. You alone strive to prevent these alliances; and this alone is a sufficient proof that you have no good disposition towards us.

Now, that the war has not proceeded agreeably to your wishes; now, that your English and other friends and emissaries have not succeeded by means of their delusive publications, accusations, libels, &c. &c. to blacken the Regency of Amsterdam in the minds of the people, or to change it entirely: as this is the case, you would now be glad to excuse yourself, to make a shameful peace with England; nay, if possible, to make a different experiment, you would bring about a war with France. But God, I hope, will give our nation sufficient penetration, not to suffer themselves to be deceived any longer by you or by your party. I also hope and expect, that our brave seamen will be better informed, by whom they were sent to be butchered; and, if possible, certainly shall be sent again, rather than suffer themselves to be duped, on a miserable rejoicing day, with golden swords, sabres and belts.

You

You alone, Prince, are the cause, that the brave and experienced Zoutman was obliged to put to sea with so small a force, and that his squadron, according to all human probability, must have fallen into the hands of the English. That this has not happened; that we have escaped becoming the object of ridicule to all nations; nay, even that our ancient glory begins to re-assume its former lustre; that the enemies shall fear us, and the neutral powers no longer despise us; that a King of Denmark, and a Queen of Portugal, shall be made sensible that it would be dangerous to provoke us much longer, or to behave in an unfriendly manner to us; that alliances with our Republick are again sought for as in former times; for nothing of all this are we beholden to *you*, Prince, nor to *your* management of affairs, but next to divine Providence, only to the heroes who fought on the 5th of August, who escaped the English prisons, (to which you had doomed *them* as well as *Volbergen*, *Satink*, *Van Prooyen*, and several others,) and rendered their country and their fellow-citizens all the above-mentioned services, by means of an almost supernatural bravery and prudence,

dence, joined to an uncommon knowledge of naval affairs.—O! William! do not lay the fault upon Providence! Providence has been more favourable to us, during all this war, than you have ever been. Had you been in earnest, would not you have sent more men of war with the gallant Zoutman?—would not you have given standing and general orders to the Zealand ships? (suppose that those in the Maeze could not come out, which, however, deserves to be inquired into) Were not there, at all events, a sufficient number of ships, almost ready for sea, in the Texel, which, by turning over the men, might have been instantly manned? A few ships more would certainly have brought Parker's squadron and convoy into our harbours. The standing general orders, which you have issued since you saw that the patience of the nation is was worne out, that the current of fortune runs against the English, and that your ambitious plan of making yourself sovereign begins to be dissolved: these very same general orders, which you have lately given to the ships of Rotterdam, Friesland, North-Holland and Zealand; and to the ships of Zealand, which
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the states of that province were unwilling to dispatch to sea—these very orders pronounce your sentence! they give you an indelible stigma. You might, and you ought, to have issued them sooner. This neglect would be unpardonable in any Prince, even were there no other complaint against him. What must it be in *you*, whose conduct towards the country is blameable, is unpardonable in so many other respects, and whose close connections with England, which may Providence soon break, we all perfectly know.

For what reason must the commissary of the port at Amsterdam be of an English family, and as it were a native of England? It is observable, and looks very suspicious, that you should have chosen an Englishman for a place of that importance; and that, in spite of the government at Amsterdam, you should have trusted a foreigner with the very gates and entrance of that city; for the commissary of the port is of course possessed of the keys of the boom. Is it less observable and suspicious, that you should have taken into your own service the coachmen of *Yorke*, whose very name must be always detestable among

among us? It proves, at least, that you are absolutely indifferent about the opinion of the publick, and do not regard even the worst appearances.

Are not you always upon the look out for opportunities to wrest from the magistrates and citizens the keys of their own cities? Is there a garrison town which does not groan under the pride and despotism of your officers?

Is it not a publick violence, that when, by your own confession, a gentleman from Drenthe ought to have been chosen, you should, to the greatest dissatisfaction of the inhabitants, have forced upon the sovereign province of Drenthe, our fellow-sister, a gentleman from Overijssel, Baron Van *Hisden*, your favourite, to be their Droffart?

Can the inhabitants of the smaller towns in Geldern suffer any longer that you should always send them, for Burgomasters, some nobleman, who, being a member of the nobility, is plentifully provided for, and without even dwelling among them, or taking

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any trouble in the government of their cities, should enjoy their emoluments, and leave the drudgery of the offices to his Fellow-burgomasters? Is not the despotical government of your favourites, in the city of Friesland, of the same character? Do you think that the Frieslanders, who were always fond and tenacious of liberty, would have called your forefathers to such a power over their cities, if they had foreseen that you ever would abuse it in so gross a manner? The cities of Friesland are really become your property, which you govern by your magistrates, as by your vice-roys. Your whole conduct, viewed connectedly, proves that you closely pursue the track of your ancestors; that you mean to seize every power, and to be all in all. Your creatures and tools have curtailed the military honours due to the States of a province: this we saw when you took your session in Overijssel; whilst by your orders you take to yourselves the royal statute, even in the voting towns, and introduce daily some other innovation of that kind. After all this, is it uncharitable to suspect that you aim at a greater power? That your old civil power does not satisfy
your

your ambition? That you cannot rest till you also wear a crown on your head, that you and your posterity may not be any longer under the present necessity of giving the higher rank to your royal brethren?

But what shall I say of your private conduct and manner of life? My intention was to spare you, at least in that respect. But since you can suffer your hired chaplains and other preachers, to represent you to their congregations as a saint, who is in close alliance with his God, and as a patriot, who, with his counsellor the Duke, day and night, wakes and toils for his fellow-citizens, for the re-establishment of publick felicity; I cannot bear this impudence, nor be silent longer. Is not your manner of life, to the greatest pain of your wise and virtuous consort, absolutely shameful? Are not you daily seen in publick, drunk, an object of disrespect and derision? What is your pastime at Loo? Sottish, childish, and sometimes worse. It is well known how much you respect the matrimonial tie: And this countrymen! is the man, *who is so intimate with his God*, as they dare to proclaim him from the pulpit, in one

of our most populous towns, in the presence of the great Almighty Wisdom. O! countrymen! consider that clergymen are but men, men of the same nature with other men. Their station is respectable, and if their conduct answers to their dignity, it deserves our highest esteem. But they are men, and there are fortune-hunters amongst *them*, as well as amongst others. The Prince can also bestow favours upon these persons, upon their children, and upon their relations; and by so doing, can secure their encomiums. Guard, therefore, against them, whenever they talk to you from the pulpit, on the causes of our publick distresses. Do not blindly believe any body, but examine whether those, that talk or prate to you falsehoods and absurdities, are really independent people; whether they are rewarded or hired, in order to mislead *you*, and to misrepresent our affairs. Yet do not believe that I would bring the clergy in general into disrespect: no! I thank God, that in our days, there are amongst them many true and enlightened friends of their country; I wanted only to hint to you, that they are as weak as other men, and that you must never believe them less,

less, than in politicks, or the affairs of State. Politicks are out of their way. They have scarce ever had any leisure or opportunity for studying them, nor ought they ever to bring them into the pulpit, which is sacred to the worship of God, not of men. But I return to my former subject.

Your proposition of March 10, 1779, for equipping between fifty and sixty men of war, turned out a mockery of the publick, as soon as you proposed that at the same time the land-troops should, without any necessity, and with the greatest danger to the publick liberty, be augmented to upwards of 60,000 men; and the inhabitants of Amsterdam found themselves forced to give a negative to both propositions, and to propose, that it would be rather adviseable to pursue the resolution of the last day of the year 1778, taken for the equipment of thirty-two sail; which number of ships, had it been equipped in proper time, and rightly conducted by you, as Admiral-General, against the overbearing English, would have been more than sufficient to prevent the war. Is there any one of the Northern powers that has so many ships

ships at sea? And do not the English respect them? The greatest fleet that ever went to sea, although absolutely manned with heroes, cannot serve us against the English, as long as our first admiral is their friend. Whatever we may do, it cannot avail, it must be all in vain.

Your propositions for augmenting the navy, of which you speak so highly, and of which you vaunt so much in the papers, were never meant seriously; for had we ever so much augmented the army, we should not have had more ships at sea, because they might have served against the English, and that would never have served your purpose.

If the equipment and sending out of a fleet had been your interest, pray how comes it to pass that the thirty-two ships, voted in April 1779, and the fifty-two, which in 1780, were voted by the States, to be ready on this first of May, 1781, besides those that were already in commission—pray how comes it to pass that they are not yet gone to sea? Whose fault is it, William! but your's alone? Is not this notorious? Ye gallant sailors, that
were

were ardent to be sent against the common enemy, and whose ardour hath been repressed, ye can best tell that no fleet was wanted by our rulers to go to sea, and that armaments went on slowly because delay and deceit were intended.

One word more, William! and then I shall have done with you. Let us suppose, which, however, is far from being the case, that Amsterdam, and those members of the States-General, which agree with that city, had not hitherto consented to the augmentation of the army; yet I ask you before God and this nation, whether that could have entitled *you*, your inland provinces, and other dependents, to oppose, and to obstruct, on your part, the recruiting for the navy? It was at all events evident, that no continental war, but a war at sea was to be apprehended. I go farther. I will suppose, a war both by sea and by land had been at our doors, and that Amsterdam and its faction, (for thus you are pleased to call them) had been refractory enough to arm only for sea, and not for land-service; pray how would then the rules of prudence, your oath, and your love of the country,

country, have directed you to act? Would you, on your part, have likewise opposed and obstructed the sea-armaments? Surely no.

If you were well-inclined towards the country, and if it was not in your power to provide equally for the sea and the land-service, you ought to have done at least what it was in your power to do, and what the gallant *De Witt* did in similar circumstances; at least you ought to have sent a good fleet to sea, and left the neglected army to the charge of those who *had* neglected it. But you acted in a very different manner.

Amsterdam has, in order to comply with you, more than once consented to a moderate augmentation of the army, which was all that you pretended to desire. But Amsterdam desired, at the same time, that the same care and expence should be applied towards the entirely neglected navy. Was there any thing unreasonable in that proposal?

Another question. What are we to do with our land-troops? Can we at the same time,

time that we provide for the fleet, pay as many troops, as when our fortresses are properly garrisoned will be enow for the field?

It would be madness to suppose it. The finances and the faculties of our republick do not allow it. What then are we to do in these circumstances? Simply this—always to be upon a good footing, and in close alliance, with France, the most powerful and the best inclined to us; and if we provoke them, as we have experienced more than once, the most dangerous, of our neighbours. To pay our army of thirty-six or forty thousand men well, and to keep them in good order, that in case of necessity we may double their numbers merely by recruiting them.—And besides, to make it our permanent rule always to have a good fleet ready, that whenever any powers are at war, which often happens, we may have it in our power to support our neutrality and free navigation, to protect our trade, and to make the Republick flourish by its uninterrupted progress. This Prince! and this alone is the way, which you and your ancestors ought always to have pursued.

S

Do

Do not attempt any apology. Your actions, and their tendency, are too visible, and too well known. He that in any country has done every thing according to his own will, or caprice, is answerable for publick guilt, and cannot exculpate himself at the expence of others. The Duke has perfectly fullfilled the end, for which your father engaged and hired him. He has always laboured for the aggrandizement of the Stadtholder's power, and accordingly he has always laboured for *you*. You and your house have always been served. He is, however, the less criminal. For what he has done amiss to the nation, the nation is to blame, and suffers for it; for we must have been exceedingly imprudent and tame, to leave so great power in such hands. Yet, that does not exculpate *you*, Prince William! and in *you* it would be dishonourable perfidy towards the Duke, your trusty adviser and leader, on your road to sovereignty, if in this his present dangerous situation you did not support him with all your power, with the army of the states; that is, with your own army; for who would or could any more serve you or your family,
if

if it was not in your power to defend your servants or tools, against the attack of the patriots and to secure their indemnity? We are in distress; our trade is at a stand, and our labouring men are starving for no other reason, than that we have no *fleet*, and that you alone should and might have equipped one in time.

I have exhibited to you, my dear countrymen! a faithful picture of our republick, from the earliest times to this present day. I have laid open to you the causes of our distresses. I have not concealed any thing from you, which it concerned you to know. I have, as far as the extent of this address would allow me, endeavoured to make it perspicuous to the most simple understandings; and even *that* will the more expose it to the rage of the Prince and his grandees, who do not like to see the lower people too wise and too well informed; nay, could they lay hold of *me*, they would treat me most unmercifully.

If therefore you should see any placart or publication, in which this address to you

shall be declared to be a malicious, seditious, scandalous, injurious libel, and a reward shall be offered to him or to those, that will betray its author or printer, then consider that such advertisements and rewards are the common refuges of men in power, who are averse from having those people exposed to the day-light of truth, whose conduct will not bear examination. It is more easy indeed to use a writer of truth barbarously, than to prove him a liar. Remember that the King of Spain declaring our forefathers to be rebels, set a price on the life of Prince William I. and ordered all the justifications, which that Prince and the States published in their defence, to be burnt by the hangman as infamous and seditious libels. Remember that the States of Overijssel not longer than three years ago advertised Baron *Van der Capellen*, and stuck his name up in every parish as a *liar, impostor, and seducer* of the publick; though all the world sees and knows, that the States are in the wrong and the Baron is in the right, and that, therefore all those fine names are not applicable to him but to the States.

Do

Do not therefore suffer yourselves to be staggered in your resolutions, when you hear the Prince and his grandees make pompous declarations of their innocence, and affection for your welfare, and be aware of attempts to bring me into a bad repute with you on account of this address. Do not believe the grandees, and in particular do not believe the Prince. Diffimulation is their great art and qualification: they learn it from their infancy. But ask the more sensible and rational part of the community; examine whether things are as they are represented; if they are, then do what you ought to do before it is too late. No time is to be lost. We are on the brink of ruin. The citizens of Amsterdam and other patriots must be supported in their attempts. Amsterdam has shewn us the way. The causes of our distresses must be enquired into. A national enquiry is to be made into every citizen's conduct for some years past, in consequence of the publick and private orders that have been given them. All the measures must be examined, which have been taken, and which might and ought to have been taken, that we may see who are the traitors; who,
from

from fear or weakness have neglected their duty, and who on the contrary have acted with spirit, perseverance, honour, and probity, and are therefore deserving of your confidence. Then proper and speedy measures must be proposed and executed. The Prince must not be suffered any longer to be left to himself or his English advisers; but a council of some men of honour and probity must be given to his Highness. The remonstrances and propositions of the city of Amsterdam are very good, and deserve our warmest acknowledgements, but they will be ineffectual; the Prince will defeat them totally, unless the nation at large, the whole people of the Netherlands, and *you*, inhabitants of the province of Holland, put these salutary ideas into execution. The Prince, you remember, is absolute master in our republick; the States of most of the provinces, the assembly of the States General at the Hague, the privy-council of the States, and the admiralties are absolutely dependent on *him*. In Friesland alone, where the people have considerable influence, and at Amsterdam, where he cannot chuse the magistrates, he cannot effect his plans. You plainly perceive therefore,

therefore, that an enquiry into the state of the nation, under the influence of the grantees, depending on the Prince, would end just as the Prince would wish it to terminate.

You perceive likewise, that, even if the States of the different provinces should agree on appointing a collateral council to the administration of the Stadtholder (which however the Prince will never suffer), the Prince will take care to have none but his own creatures elected for that council; and that no burgomasters *Jemmink*, *Hooft* or *Rindorp*, no pensionaries *Van Berkel* or *Gyzelaar*, none of the Barons *Van der Capellen* *Totdenpol* or *Marsch*, none of the Friesland noblemen, such as *Aylva*, *Eyringa*, *Humalda*, *Beyma*, *Wielinga*, *Haren*, or other such patriots be admitted into it.

Whatever may be done or proposed for the salvation or preservation of our almost irrecoverably ruined country must be proposed, or done in vain, so long as you, my dear countrymen! you nations of the Netherlands! shall remain idle spectators of our national destruction. Therefore,

Assemble

Asssemble in your towns and in your villages. Meet peaceably. Elect from amongst yourselves a moderate number of good, virtuous and pious men, good patriots, whom you may trust, send these your delegates to the places of assembly of the States of your respective povinces ; order them to meet as soon as possible, and to enquire, in the name and by the rights of this nation, together with the States of the other respective provinces, into the *causes of that extraordinary slowness, which appears in our armaments against an active and dangerous enemy.* Order them likewise, together with your respective provincial States, forthwith to elect a council for his Highness. Propose and execute such measures as shall be found convenient and proper for the preservation of our oppressed and afflicted country.

Order your delegates to let you have from time to time an account of their proceedings in the publick papers. Take care of the liberty of the press, for that is the only support of your national liberty. If we have no liberty to speak freely to our fellow-citizens, or to give them timely advice, it will
be

be very easy for our oppressors to act their sinister parts ; and it is for that reason that those, who cannot bear to hear their conduct enquired into, are always exclaiming against the liberty of speech and of the press, and could wish that nothing was printed or sold without permission.

Arm yourselves ; chuse your commanders ; follow the example of the people of America, where not a single drop of blood was shed, till the English gave the first blow—and act with prudence, wisdom and moderation ; and Jehovah, the God of liberty, who brought the Israelites out of their servitude and made them a free nation, will undoubtedly support our good and righteous cause.

I am,

Ye People of the Netherlands,

Dear Fellow-Citizens,

Your faithful

OSTEND, }
Sep. 3, 1781. }

FELLOW-CITIZEN.

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